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Internal Administrative Services in the Air Ministry

By B. HUMPHREYS-DAVIES

Mr. Humphreys-Davies is an Assistant Secretary in the Air Ministry. His paper was among those presented to the Nottingham Conference of the Institute held from 15th-17th April, 1955, whose topic was the Administration of Technical Services. No part of the paper should be taken as necessarily reflecting the official views of the Air Ministry. The paper represents no more than an expression of the personal opinion of a responsible officer from that Department.

By way of introduction, I ought to explain that what I am chiefly aiming to look at is how technical staffs fit into the organisation of a central Department in London, and how that organisation needs to be framed to accommodate them to the Department's best advantage. I shall be less concerned with the more detailed part which these technical staffs play in their particular fields of this organisation, with the internal administration within these primarily technical fields, or with what happens at the levels outside the central Department.

I should also make it clear that, for the purpose of covering as much ground as possible, I propose to treat every Government servant who takes his orders directly or indirectly from the Minister of the Department concerned as a "technical officer," unless he happens to be a non-specialist—that is to say, in broad terms, unless he belongs to the Administrative, Executive or Clerical Class of the Civil Service. Though what I have to say will no doubt have an appreciably wider application in at least some cases, I shall not unnaturally be considering mainly my own Department, the Air Ministry. And it will be worth noting at the outset that in the Air Ministry field my definition of a "technical officer" means that, quite apart from the numerous specialist civil servants on the Air Ministry's establishment, every officer of the Royal Air Force itself ranks as "technical"—regardless of whether or not he happens to belong within his Service to what is called its Technical Branch.

Main Features of the Departmental Organisation

To turn now to the broad organisation of a Department like the Air Ministry, it may be useful to begin with two platitudes. The first is that what I am calling technical officers are the experts who, as a general rule, alone understand their subjects fully and deeply enough to be able to frame the policies relating thereto and say how they are to be executed. The second is that the Department as a whole is responsible to Parliament for these policies and their implementation, normally through the Secretary of State or the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State; and it is the non-technical civil servant who by his training and background is as a general rule best fitted to deal with the political and financial points which Parliament may be likely to raise. For this reason alone it is most desirable that the non-technical civil servant should play his part in advising on the best way of presenting the agreed policies and of answering any questions about them.

Moreover it is the Permanent Secretary himself who, as Accounting Officer of the Department, is answerable to Parliament, in his annual appearances before its Public Accounts Committee, for the way in which public money is spent on these various policies. This again emphasises the need for the Department to be so organised that its non-specialist civil servants are closely associated with the experts in their framing and execution of policy, so that they will understand it sufficiently to be able to justify it in principle or detail from the political and financial angles should the need arise, and also have the chance of themselves raising any pertinent questions before, rather than after, the policy or its implementation becomes firm.

Yet another facet of this matter is that it is in the interests of the specialist and the non-specialist alike that the Department as a whole should obtain the best value from whatever money Parliament votes to it. The financial experience of the non-specialist civil servant often enables him to make constructive suggestions from this aspect upon the framing as well as the execution of policy, *provided* he is closely enough associated with them. Moreover it would in any case be courting failure, in competition with other Ministries and in making one's case to the Treasury in particular, to have a house which was habitually divided against itself through the right hand's ignorance of what the left hand was doing. A "departmental view," which is understood and contributed to by *all* the main elements of the Department concerned, is thus of considerable value on all policy questions.

Let us now see how a Department like the Air Ministry is organised in practice to meet these very general requirements. At the top level there is the Air Council, comprising the Secretary of State as its President, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State as its Vice-President, six Air Members (who are R.A.F. officers of Air Marshal or higher rank), and the Permanent Under-Secretary of State (who is the Permanent Secretary of the Air Ministry). The Senior Air Member is the Chief of the Air Staff. It is also worth noting at this stage that one of the other Air Members is the Controller of Aircraft at the Ministry of Supply, and I shall be wanting later on to touch on a few points regarding inter-departmental relationships with the latter. The six Air Members and the Permanent Under-Secretary of State are, of course, fully briefed by their respective staffs as necessary on every matter coming before the Air Council for consideration—whether this be at a formal meeting of the Council or on the appropriate departmental file. Any decision taken by the Air Council is thus not only understood but also endorsed by its members, each of whom has the chance of putting any special points he may wish prior to the decision.

Of course, some of the more important decisions have to be taken, or at least ratified, at such higher inter-departmental levels as Cabinet or other Ministerial Committees. On these occasions the appropriate Minister is normally briefed in a sense which will prove acceptable to the Air Council as a whole.

However, it is clear that neither Ministerial Committees nor the Air Council have the time to deal in person with every single question of policy, let alone execution, needing a decision. Within the Air Ministry each Service Member and the Permanent Under-Secretary of State has his own so-called Department which takes directions from himself—except that the Chief of

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES IN THE AIR MINISTRY

the Air Staff, the Vice Chief of the Air Staff and the Deputy Chief of the Air Staff all share the same Department (i.e., the Air Staff). There are thus four main Departments within the Air Ministry—the Air Staff, the Air Member for Personnel's Department, the Air Member for Supply and Organisation's Department, and the Permanent Under-Secretary of State's Department. Each of these four Departments is responsible for the framing and execution of policy within its own field (and so far as these are not delegated to R.A.F. Commands). In the case of disagreement or uncertainty among any of the three Departments headed by Service Members of Council, the Air Staff, being primarily responsible for the operational efficiency of the Royal Air Force, are to some extent *primus inter pares*. Air Staff guidance is thus frequently sought by the Departments of other Members of Council if ever they are in doubt regarding the main operational bases for their own policies. This, however, does not in principle detract from the responsibility of each Member of Council for the framing and execution of policy within his own field.

But one can well ask how it is that on the very great majority of questions, which we have already noted cannot possibly all be put to the Air Council in person, the Department of the Member of Council primarily concerned does not go ahead and take its own decisions without necessarily consulting in the process any other Departments (including those of other Air Members and the Permanent Under-Secretary of State within the Air Ministry itself) which may be directly or indirectly affected. And one must face up to the fact that this danger of unilateral action is by no means only theoretical. This is particularly so because, as a general rule, an R.A.F. officer (and in some cases also a specialist civil servant) loses much of his value as a staff officer in the Air Ministry unless he has had recent practical experience of his job *outside* the Ministry. For instance, in the case of an Air Staff officer he needs to be well up to date on the practical side of operations from recent experience in an R.A.F. Command, and to be able to sense automatically any practical snags in an operational policy which might seem faultless when viewed only in principle. He also needs the ability to appreciate operational priorities in the light of this recent experience, and thus to distinguish in case of need what really matters from what may be desirable but is not in fact essential. Similar considerations are, of course, applicable in the Departments of the Air Member for Personnel and the Air Member for Supply and Organisation.

One cannot help admitting in passing that the life of the ordinary civil service administrator in a Service Department would be much easier if his opposite numbers from the armed forces within the Ministry had all been working there for a very long time, and were thus fully acquainted with all the departmental procedures for consultation and readily amenable to reconciling any differences. But one cannot get away from the fact that to have the R.A.F. (and in some cases also other specialist) staffs of the Ministry as virtually indistinguishable from ordinary civil servants would do more harm than good. What one must have are Service officers and other specialists who thoroughly understand and are well up to date on the practical side of their own professions, and who do not hesitate to press their views to the limit whenever they are convinced that they are right.

Admittedly this can give rise to major difficulties and perhaps mistakes in cases where the judgment of the officers concerned is faulty. But this only goes to underline the importance of personnel selection, which ought to be capable of ensuring that the appointments which matter most are filled by the officers of the best qualifications and judgment.

To recapitulate, what I am calling the "technical" posts of the Air Ministry need to be filled by selected officers of the R.A.F. in particular who as a general rule have a wide and recent practical experience of their professions *outside* the central Department. This means that no R.A.F. officer can normally be allowed to spend more than a very few years in the Air Ministry at a single stretch. And, in the case of even the more senior posts for example, their incumbents may have never previously served in the Air Ministry, or if they have this may well have been many years previously or in an altogether different capacity. The great majority of them will thus not be fully versed in ordinary departmental procedures, and this accentuates the danger of the unilateral action I have already mentioned—particularly if the officer concerned has the initiative, drive and conviction which are so necessary if he is to make his best contribution to the work of the Department. How is this danger countered in practice?

In the first place the danger must not, of course, be exaggerated. Even if an officer has no previous Air Ministry experience, he will normally realise on being posted to the Department that, as part of the machinery of government, he is under some obligation to keep in step with its other members or, if he wants to change step himself, at least to see that they do likewise. The main trouble is that he may not be conscious of, or be able to identify in detail, each of the other parties with whom reasonable unison is necessary. Such consultation as takes place prior to action may therefore still be incomplete. Some machinery is thus necessary to keep him on the rails, or at least to make him aware of any cases where he may be deliberately choosing to jump these rails.

The Permanent Secretary's Responsibilities

The organisation and administration of the Ministry as a whole are, of course, primarily the responsibility of the Permanent Secretary. The Air Ministry headquarters strength totals some 8,250 persons. Somewhere around 1,250 of these are R.A.F. personnel (the average rank of whom is not unnaturally pretty high by comparison with the R.A.F. as a whole), and the remaining 7,000-odd are civilians. Some 4,000, or a little less than half the total of 8,250, belong to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State's Department; about 2,700 to the Air Member for Supply and Organisation's Department; and about 800 each to the Air Staff and the Air Member for Personnel's Department. Of course, all four Departments contain their due share of civil servants from the clerical grades, but there are proportionately fewer executive civil servants and hardly any administrative civil servants outside the Permanent Under-Secretary of State's Department. Specialist civil servants do not, however, gravitate in quite the same way: for example, the Air Member for Supply and Organisation has the services of some 700 specialists in the works and allied professional classes, and about

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES IN THE AIR MINISTRY

100 specialists belonging to departmental grades ; the Air Staff has about 70 scientists, psychologists, experimental officers, draughtsmen and illustrators, and about 40 specialists of the departmental grades ; the Air Member for Personnel's Department includes a dozen or so specialists of the departmental grades ; and the Permanent Under-Secretary of State, apart from administering not far short of 300 specialists in the headquarters of the Meteorological Office, has in his Department some 20 statisticians, information officers, draughtsmen and illustrators, and around 50 specialists of the departmental grades. Out of the total civilian headquarters staff of some 7,000 persons, something like 20 per cent. are thus specialist civilians of one kind or another, and there are roughly the same number of these specialist civilians at the Air Ministry headquarters as there are of R.A.F. personnel. On the other hand, in upwards of 100 more senior posts between Member of Council and Director level inclusive, which are all of Air Rank or the equivalent, there are about two R.A.F. officers to every administrative civilian and about three administrative civilians to every specialist civilian.

Let us now turn in more detail to the Department of the Permanent Under-Secretary of State. I have already mentioned that the headquarters of the Meteorological Office comes under him for administration. In addition, he is responsible for all common office services for all parts of the Air Ministry, including an information division, an organisation and methods division, a central statistical bureau, staff for the allocation and supervision of accommodation and furniture, the typing and duplicating staffs, registry, office keepers, messengers, cleaners and Air Ministry constabulary. He also has certain divisions dealing with matters which are the prime concern of himself rather than any other Member of Council—for instance the Directorate of Accounts, the Directorate of Contracts, the central secretariat, and divisions dealing with personnel establishments of the Air Ministry headquarters and of civilians generally (including not far short of 100,000 of them employed at outstations) and with the postings and careers of civilians.

None of these elements of the Permanent Under-Secretary of State's Department, however, has any major direct bearing on the problem which we left unanswered a little while ago. What we then asked ourselves was how the various policy framers and executors are kept in step with one another and with the wider interests of the Air Ministry as a whole and indeed of public administration generally ; and, even allowing for the fact that they will usually realise that consultation is as a general rule a necessary preliminary to any decision, how there is to be reasonable certainty that they will know just who ought to be consulted on each occasion. A large part of the answer emerges if we consider two other types of division within the Permanent Under-Secretary of State's Department—namely the secretarial divisions and the finance divisions, which are dotted about pretty widely in the Air Ministry's organisation.

The Secretarial Divisions

To take the secretarial divisions first, it is necessary at once to dispel a possible illusion. Their main job is *not* to act as secretaries and general handmaidens to the R.A.F. or other specialist directorates with whom they work most closely. The latter are, for example, normally expected to be

able to draft their own minutes, letters and papers, and to keep records of any meetings, etc., which they may hold. It is for the most part only when such matters arise at the highest levels of Member of Council or thereabouts that the secretarial divisions find themselves acting in the normal way as "secretaries" in the more colloquial sense of the word. Indeed, if every matter at all levels which was secretarial in this latter sense had to be handled by the secretarial divisions, they would obviously become a hopeless bottleneck—apart from being so fully absorbed with these lesser things that they had no time to spare for what mattered a great deal more.

The secretarial divisions' main job is, firstly, to have a thorough knowledge of public administration generally and of their own departmental machine in particular, and to have a full and clear understanding who needs to be consulted, both within and outside the Air Ministry, on any particular issue. Secondly, they must keep themselves abreast of the latest public and political climate, and of the sort of parliamentary questions which particular decisions (or indecisions) may evoke. Thirdly, and perhaps most important of all, they must know what the present policies are, and the main factors of past history and future assessment on which they are based.

As repositories of all this knowledge, the secretarial divisions are bound to be frequently consulted by the policy staffs with whom they deal most closely. Nor, of course, should this be only a one-way traffic. Their knowledge will often enable them to detect inconsistencies or gaps in the existing policies, due for instance to a change in the general climate or in the particular factors on which these policies have been based. In such cases they should not hesitate to put their own suggestions to the policy staffs. Indeed, it is in the nature of things that their advice will in the ordinary way be sought the more readily if they show themselves capable of making their own constructive proposals on matters which may never have been put to them for their views.

In short, it is the spirit of give-and-take which most needs to be fostered as a pre-condition to the confidence without which the technical staffs may still be inclined towards isolationism and independent action. And, as an outward and visible sign of the importance which is attached to cultivating such confidence, it is here worth noting that the secretarial divisions formally have a dual allegiance. Not only do they belong to the Department of the Permanent Under-Secretary of State. But they, together with the Assistant Under-Secretaries of State to whom they report, are also part of the staff of the Air Member of Council with whose Department they work most closely.

When the proper relationship has been established between the policy staffs and the secretarial divisions, it goes without saying that the latter are always kept informed (or enabled to keep themselves informed) of every significant development in the way in which the policy staffs are approaching their problems. If, in the process, secretarial divisions see that consultation has been lacking with anybody either within or outside the Department who is directly interested, this omission can then be remedied before it is too late. Indeed as regards consultation outside the Department, particularly with other Ministries, the secretarial divisions are in any case the normal channel for any formal exchanges of view which may be required. Likewise when decisions are taken after such consultation as is necessary, including

consultation with the secretarial divisions themselves, it is the latter who are primarily responsible for seeing that those decisions which are at all important as policy are properly presented—be it to Parliament, to the public or to the Royal Air Force itself. And, as I have already mentioned, the secretarial divisions will, as a matter of course, be on the look-out themselves for any gaps or inconsistencies in the existing policies and practices, or for any other respects in which they may need to be modified because of changing circumstances, and will not be backward in coming forward with any suggestions they may have in these respects.

A secretarial division, however, exerts most of its influence by means of goodwill and mutual understanding. If its advice is habitually either not sought, disregarded or misinterpreted, it has in the last resort no real sanction with which to force its views home. And here it is worth recalling again that it is the Permanent Under-Secretary of State who, as the Ministry's Accounting Officer, is responsible for justifying its policies and practices to the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons. When his own Department has strong views upon a particular matter, he therefore cannot afford to let these views go unheeded by other Departments of the Air Ministry: otherwise he may well be heading for trouble with the Public Accounts Committee. His own position could, of course, be safeguarded if it were possible to have every single matter on which his own Department might consider that insufficient attention was being paid to their views, formally submitted to the Air Council itself. But, as I have already hinted, this would as a general rule be the most frightful waste of the Air Council's time, and if the worst were to come to the worst there might well be a great deal more business of this sort than the mere nine Members of Council could possibly handle. So within the departmental machine there need to be particular elements with real sanctions which they can enforce if this is ever necessary for the purpose of safeguarding the Accounting Officer's interests. These elements are the finance divisions.

The Finance Divisions

Probably nobody needs reminding that any departmental decision entailing the expenditure of public money must have financial approval before it can be adopted. This is part of our constitutional procedure for ensuring Parliamentary control over public expenditure, and for enabling the Accounting Officer (in conjunction as necessary with the Treasury) to demonstrate to the Public Accounts Committee that his Department's expenditure is justifiable to Parliament. This financial approval is in some cases the direct responsibility of the Treasury, and in others that of the Departmental Accounting Officer under delegated powers. The Air Ministry's finance divisions are, among other things, the Accounting Officer's instruments for obtaining Treasury approval where necessary, and for signifying their own approval whenever this falls within the delegated powers.

The withholding of financial approval is in the last resort a very effective sanction against undue disregard of the Accounting Officer's interests, and this is a weapon which is readily available to every finance division in the Air Ministry. This is not to say, of course, that the Service Member of

Council concerned has not the right to appeal to the Air Council himself against any financial decision which he considers wrong, and that such a decision may not then in some cases be reversed. Similar reversals are also possible at the intermediate levels of Assistant Under-Secretary of State and Deputy Under-Secretary of State. Nevertheless, the negative powers of finance divisions remain fairly substantial—particularly if they are careful to avoid being caught out by having their decisions reversed at a higher level, and accordingly only withhold their approval when they are pretty sure of their ground.

I have deliberately stressed this largely negative side of finance divisions' work to start off with, not so much because it is a widely held idea of what they spend most of their time on, as because it can be a powerful device for ensuring that the various parts of the Ministry keep in step not only with one another but also with outsiders, notably Parliament and the Treasury. However, the last thing I want to do is to give the impression that this negative side of finance divisions' activities is the most important, or the one which necessarily has the biggest reactions on the R.A.F. and other technical staffs with whom these divisions are working. They also have a far more positive role to perform, which can be of the greatest assistance to the staffs responsible for the framing and execution of policy. And as this particular side of their work does not appear to be very widely known, it will perhaps be as well to look into it in some detail.

The first and most obvious point is that, especially in the post-war circumstances of our national economy, the money available for defence (like everything else) is bound to be strictly limited—short, of course, of a real emergency such as at one time seemed foreshadowed by events in Korea. Defence policy as a whole and the policy for each armed Service individually are therefore largely governed by finance. Every effort is made, after consultation with the Treasury and the Ministry of Defence, to reach the best possible assessment of the amount of money likely to be available to Air Votes year by year for the period ahead which is covered by the more important future plans. Finance divisions then make the best estimate they can of what the force which these plans entail is likely to cost during each of these years. If the total comes out materially different from what it is thought will be available to Air Votes during any of these years, future plans and policies have to be modified. When the plans have been brought at least broadly into line with the expected future availability of money to Air Votes, the normal practice is for them to be submitted in outline to the Air Council for formal approval. Before this is possible, there has, however, to be the closest collaboration between the policy staffs generally and the Air Staff in particular on the one hand and the various finance divisions on the other. This is for the purpose of deciding what adjustments can best be made to the size, shape, deployment, etc., of the force so as to bring it within reasonable distance of the target money totals for future years.

Nor can this be regarded as anything other than a continuous process stretching over the years, which cannot in fact attain more than very temporary finality even when the Air Council has approved a particular set of plans. Not only is the climate always liable to change subsequently in regard to the amount of money which can be afforded for defence expenditure generally

in future years, or to the subdivision of this total between the various Defence Departments. But with the passage of time plans may also have to be readjusted for purely operational reasons as appraisals of future defence prospects develop, or because particular elements of the programme in the event progress at a different pace from, or turn out to cost materially more or less than, what had been expected. Any major change for any such reasons normally entails a new forward costing of the force, and with it a probable revision of the existing plans by the policy staffs in conjunction with finance divisions so as to bring them yet again into broad line with whatever the latest forward target money figures may be. For some years past such exercises have been inescapable annual occurrences in the Air Ministry. They run at their highest intensity for about six months from shortly after the beginning of each financial year in May or June until the following year's estimates have to be finished towards the end of the calendar year.

The Finance Divisions and Policy Formation

This never-ending process of keeping all future plans under constant review, in relation to the best assessment which can be made of the money likely to be available year by year, naturally calls for the closest possible co-operation between the policy staffs and finance divisions. Either side is largely helpless without the other. For this reason, and because, as I have already said, they both have a common interest in getting the fullest possible value from whatever money is likely to come to Air Votes, confidence is by no means difficult to foster between the two. And, once this confidence is established, the policy staffs will naturally be less suspicious and more heedful of any observations the finance divisions may make with particular reference to the Accounting Officer's interests.

It follows from what I have already said that it is as much to the advantage of the technical staffs as of the finance divisions that the latter should be closely associated with the framing of policy as well as with its execution. For unless they fully understand it, they cannot be expected to arrive at any sound assessment of what it is likely to cost. Nor can they make their own suggestions, which may often be of real value to the policy staffs, about comparatively small changes of policy which will yield unexpectedly big financial advantages. Moreover, if the policy staffs are as a general rule able to carry finance divisions with them over the framing of policy, the latter are far less likely to raise difficulties at a later stage regarding each detailed executive proposal in implementation of this policy. This last point also has a number of other important aspects, of which it will be as well to give a few examples.

Firstly, a finance division ought as a matter of common sense to be far more concerned in the normal way about satisfying itself that the actual policy is sound than with considering each executive proposal in isolation or, worse still, in ignorance of the policy to which it is supposed to be related. For, if the policy itself is sound, the executive proposals flowing from it ought in the ordinary way to require no more than a quick check that they conform with the agreed policy, and perhaps a few comparatively minor adjustments of detail, before earning financial approval. On the other hand, if the policy is altogether unsound, no amount of effort on the part of finance

divisions is ever likely to succeed in making anything other than a nonsense of the resultant executive proposals.

Secondly, the staffs responsible for the executive decisions are often not the same as, and are sometimes even in a different Member of Council's Department from, the staffs responsible for the broad policy decisions. As the policy is kept under such constant review by these latter staffs, this may sometimes mean that the policy itself has changed (or at least gone back again into the formative stage) before the staffs concerned with the executive decisions have had time to formulate all the details of their executive proposals. If this should ever happen, the finance divisions are, by reason of their close contacts with the policy sources, to put things back on the rails when any outdated executive proposal comes to them for financial approval.

Thirdly, there are certain fields, of which the supply of R.A.F. technical equipment is probably the most outstanding, where many years may elapse between when a project first begins to take shape and when it finally reaches fruition. Moreover some of the more important of these projects are so closely interrelated that one of them may lose much of its value without the others. For instance, however good an airframe may be as an actual flying machine, it is of little use without suitable aero-engines, effective guided missiles, bombs or other weapons, and matching radars, other radio electrical equipment, instruments and other fittings. All of these must be developed in parallel, designed so that one will fit into or on to another both physically and functionally to form a complete weapon system at the end of the line, and produced in step with one another. As often as not, matching ground equipment of various sorts and appropriate fuel (not to mention works services and personnel training) are also most important. As the Air Staff decides what sorts of weapon systems it must have, these various projects go on their respective courses through the research and development side of the Ministry of Supply, back to the Air Staff for progressive approval of the development work, on to the Air Member for Supply and Organisation's Department for provisioning, then back to the Ministry of Supply for procurement and production, and finally to the Air Member for Supply and Organisation's Department for acceptance of delivery. However, there will very often be different sides of the Ministry of Supply and different provisioning directorates in the Air Ministry (quite apart from different industries and different firms) dealing with the various main elements of a particular weapon system. After the Air Staff has taken its main decisions about such a system, there is in these circumstances often only one other focal point from which the progress of the whole system can be watched in some detail—namely the Air Ministry finance division responsible for the production vote. This is not to say that, despite their separation in different buildings and in some cases even in different parts of the country, there is not the closest possible collaboration between the numerous different branches of the Air Ministry and the Ministry of Supply responsible for bringing each project to fruition. But the fact remains that in many cases the finance division I have mentioned is the only *central* point from which the progress of its various elements can be followed in any detail. In its own narrower interests the finance division must, of course, in any case watch this progress very closely indeed. Otherwise it may find itself wasting money

on particular features of a scheme because other essential features are failing to materialise. But, no less important, if ever a finance division sees from its central position that some elements of a particular scheme seem to be getting out of phase with others, it can be of immense value to the policy staffs by bringing this to their notice in case they have not already become aware of it themselves. The policy staffs are then able to consider what remedial action may be possible or, failing that, what adjustments need to be made to the existing policy. This aspect of a finance division's work is the more important because, as is common knowledge, much of the equipment used by the Royal Air Force can have only a limited operational life before it will need to be superseded by something more advanced. Time is thus of the utmost importance, and "late" may well be *worse* than "never" because of the inroads which the former makes into the limited money available. If a large slice of time can alone bring a particular project, which has got out of adjustment, back into phase, it is therefore possible that the project will have to be either abandoned or drastically modified.

Fourthly, and leading on from the great length of time which is often required between the insemination and final fruition of a project, is the fact that expenditure will often have to be committed in the form of contracts some time in advance of when the finished article can be delivered, let alone brought into use. For instance, even in cases where the equipment in question has already been fully developed and deliveries have actually started, the provisioning staffs of the Air Ministry have, as a general rule, to get to work on any subsequent instalments they need about two years before they require each instalment's delivery to be completed. And this length of the normal ordering periods all goes to show that the constant review of future plans and policy which I mentioned a little while back is a great deal more than a purely paper exercise: a large amount of expenditure will inevitably be committed for some years ahead in accordance with whatever the latest plans may be. It goes without saying, of course, that as these plans are always liable to change in some degree for the reasons I gave earlier, it is unsound to commit expenditure any further into the future than is essential for the purpose of keeping production running at the rates required. Provisioning policies, for example, are thus kept under regular review by the Air Ministry provisioning staffs in conjunction with the finance division I have mentioned and in consultation, as necessary, with the Ministry of Supply, for the purpose, among other things, of minimising risks of this sort.

However, even when everything possible has been done in this regard, the normal forward ordering periods inevitably still remain pretty long. And, of course, they become longer still in cases where the equipment in question has not yet been fully developed, and has to some extent to be ordered "off the drawing board" for the purpose of accelerating its introduction into the Service. In such cases a production contract serves, among other things, as an incentive for the contractor to press ahead with his development work so that he may as soon as possible start getting a return on the production contract. It also enables at least substantial progress to be made with the lengthy business of production preparations (laying down production lines, acquiring materials and bought-out components, etc.) during, rather than after, the development stage of the equipment concerned,

thereby again accelerating the latter's arrival into service. On the other hand neither the policy staffs nor the financial side of the Air Ministry want the development process to be skimmed by the contractor for the sake of an earlier return from his production contract, with the possible result that production deliveries start flowing which are altogether unacceptable to the Royal Air Force. No universal panacea can be applied to this problem.

There are, however, certain devices which can be used by agreement between the policy and finance staffs, and which, according to the nature of the case, are then capable of providing at least some safeguards against the two extremes of the delivery of equipment on the one hand which the Service finds unacceptable, and on the other hand which arrives too late to be any good. Naturally the policy and finance staffs are between them always examining possible ways in which such devices can be improved or extended. Progress in these matters is necessarily slow, if only because the co-operation of industry has to be obtained if any of these measures is to be effective, and it is also necessary to get at least the broad agreement of the Ministry of Supply who from their point of view may have good reasons for believing that more is to be lost than gained by any attempt to take a tough line with industry. Nevertheless, even the very limited results which have so far been possible in this field are a great deal better than nothing.

And this brings me to a fifth related point. The finance divisions are as interested as the policy staffs in seeing that the Department as a whole is strong and in a position to force its views home whenever it is convinced that they are right. For nothing can be so wasteful of money as the constant vacillations associated with weakness, or habitual acceptance of something which is unsatisfactory for lack of the power to compel it to be made satisfactory. In dealing with other Departments it is therefore most important that the whole of the Air Ministry should stand together. For instance, in its relationships with the Ministry of Supply to which I have already referred, it is in the interests of all parts of the Air Ministry that their own Department should as a matter of course be regarded as the principal and the Ministry of Supply as their agent. It is therefore generally a grave mistake for any Air Ministry finance division to attempt to derive some short-term benefit from playing its own policy staffs off against some other Ministry to what might seem to be some financial advantage in the narrow sense. This can only sow distrust within, which both undermines the internal confidence on which finance divisions are so dependent, and also weakens the whole Ministry and leads to all the wastes associated with weakness.

The Finance Divisions and the Treasury

For similar reasons finance divisions ought certainly not to regard themselves as the Treasury's bedded-out agents, whose main responsibility is to frame cases for submission to the Treasury (regardless of whether they believe in these cases themselves), and leave it to the Treasury to accept these cases or reject them as they (the Treasury) think fit. Rather the finance divisions must so inspire confidence within their own Ministry that their views are always respected and it is most unusual for their advice to be overriden whenever they have good reasons for considering that a particular project, or any of its main features, is unsound. In such circumstances

they will seldom find themselves in the invidious position of having to make to the Treasury cases in which they do not believe themselves. And then, being no less convinced than the policy staffs that the cases which they make are right, they will be as keen as anyone else to force these cases through.

This is not to say, of course, that finance divisions should not keep in the closest routine touch with the Treasury. Only in this way can they keep properly abreast of the latest economic developments which will influence the financial soundness or unsoundness of particular policies and projects. Likewise they, for their part, should keep the Treasury as closely informed as possible of what is happening in their own Department, as nothing is so likely to breed Treasury mistrust as the feeling that a Department is trying to hide things from them. But, in keeping the Treasury so informed, finance divisions should be careful to make it clear that the Department is acting within the field of its own responsibilities and is not seeking Treasury approval for what it is doing, and that only those matters which by their nature require Treasury approval will be put specifically to the Treasury in these terms. Treasury agreement to particular proposals is naturally a great deal easier to obtain if the Treasury realise that they are not being kept in the dark (as proof of which there may well be a certain amount of departmental dirty linen coming into their line of vision from time to time), that the finance divisions fully understand the policies with which they are dealing and enjoy the confidence of the departmental policy staffs with whom they work, and that in the normal way cases are not put to the Treasury unless the finance divisions concerned believe in them themselves. In fact the Treasury, like every one else, will respect the Ministry the more and be the readier to fall in with its views if they see that it stands together and is generally not ashamed in any of its quarters of what it is doing.

Naturally, in establishing this happy state of affairs, finance divisions must be prepared to give as well as take in their dealings with the policy staffs. Perhaps one of their more important functions is to be able to judge what points can best be conceded if necessary for the purpose of reaching agreement with the policy staffs, without running their Accounting Officer in for serious embarrassment with the Public Accounts Committee.

The Preparation of the Air Estimates

I have expanded at very great length on what is to me the fascinating subject of the administrative aspects of how a finance division should tackle its job. Of course, there are also many other sides to their work which are of less immediate concern to the policy staffs with whom they deal. Such, for instance, are the detailed framing of annual Air Estimates, briefing and perhaps sitting in the box for the Air Estimates Debate in the House; answering any questions which the Exchequer and Audit Department may put to them in the course of the year on behalf of the Comptroller and Auditor General; drawing up the annual Appropriation Accounts, together with such printed explanations and annotations as are necessary; briefing the Accounting Officer on all possible questions which, when he appears before them annually, the Public Accounts Committee may ask about each Appropriation Account or the Comptroller and Auditor General's observations thereon. These other duties of finance divisions are, of course, of considerable

importance—not least because it is in their performance that points of special interest to the Accounting Officer come to light, and it is with the reconciliation of these interests of the Permanent Under-Secretary of State (who is Accounting Officer) with those of the policy staffs of the Ministry that I have been mainly concerned here. Nevertheless, it remains generally true that, although finance divisions necessarily consult the policy staffs in the performance of these other duties, including the preparation of all the massive documentation which goes with them, they have a less direct bearing than the matters I have already discussed upon the nature of the relationship which needs to exist between finance divisions and policy staffs.

On the other hand, as regards financial estimates in particular, including not only the detailed Air Estimates which are submitted to Parliament annually for the single year ahead but also the longer-term planning estimates which I mentioned earlier, the policy staffs are, of course, profoundly interested in at least the total money allocations, since these will largely govern what they are able to do. And before closing on the financial side it is only right that I should make a point which sometimes gets lost sight of. What I have been calling technical officers are by their very nature inclined to be optimistic. Or, to put it another way, they know what is capable of achievement, and not only consider that this ought to be achieved but cannot afford to admit that it will not. For, unless they set their sights as high as they reasonably can, actual performance is bound to fall still further short than is really inescapable of the target which every one wants to hit. The undeniable fact, however, remains that no forward plan of any size is ever achieved to schedule. Therefore, if one's annual and forward cash estimates allow exactly enough money for everything which is included in the complete plan year by year, one will be habitually underspent to a very major extent. Or, to put it in different terms, with the same amount of money one would have done better to work to a less restricted plan, and thus spend more of whatever money Parliament votes or is expected to vote for the efficient Air Force which the country must have. This business of shortfall or underspending against existing plans is a very thorny problem, and the treatment must vary widely in different cases. Finance divisions do, however, accumulate a very wide experience as a basis for judging the extent to which the money required in principle for a particular plan is likely in practice to be underspent year by year. This is not to say that their judgment will be correct, as the whole estimating process is fraught with uncertainties. But at least it will normally be a great deal nearer the mark than if the estimates showed the full amount of money which would be required if all existing plans were to be fully achieved to schedule. It is the absolute duty of finance divisions to discount all existing plans as they think best, in arriving at their financial estimates. Not only does this minimise the extent to which Parliament is misled about the amount of money likely in fact to be spent. But the policy staffs need not then be called upon to keep all their plans cut right back to the absolute limits of the available money, and can be permitted to plan to spend more money than will actually be forthcoming, in the firm expectation that achievement will fall short of these plans. Financial ruthlessness of this sort can be of real value to the policy staffs, and if it is presented to them properly they will usually not be slow to appreciate its advantages.

Relationship between Finance and Secretarial Divisions

During this lengthy examination of how a finance division needs to tackle its job, many of you may have been struck by the fact that, though the work of finance and secretarial divisions is in some ways complementary, in others it is very similar. In particular, both types of division will be largely ineffective unless they are closely associated with the framing and execution of policy in all its aspects, are able to stimulate the necessary confidence between the policy staffs and themselves without which this close association with policy will be impossible, and as a basis for this confidence feel that their main loyalty lies towards the Ministry as a whole rather than to any sectional part of it. As their work is so similar in all these latter most important respects, you may wonder why it is necessary to have separate finance and secretarial divisions rather than general administrative divisions tackling the work of both. This is a question on which one cannot afford to be dogmatic. From many points of view a system of general administrative divisions might well be preferable to the existing split which we have in the Air Ministry between finance and secretarial divisions. On the other hand, the load of work must always be a limiting factor. I have, for instance, already mentioned that the breadth of the field which each finance or secretarial division covers is one of its main values, since in this way one gets some important focal points from which a wider range of activities can be observed and assessed in some detail than in probably any other part of the Ministry. If, as is probable, the amalgamation of secretarial with finance divisions meant that for work-load reasons alone the field covered by each division had to be narrowed, one would almost certainly lose more than one gained—though this, of course, is not to say that in other Ministries the balance of advantage may not lie in the opposite direction.

As a somewhat extreme instance of what I have just said, it is worth noting that some 300 of the 4,000-odd individuals in the Permanent Under-Secretary of State's Department belong to the single finance division I mentioned earlier, which deals with the supply of aircraft, all other R.A.F. equipment and petrol, oil and lubricants. If supply secretariat functions were also added to this division's existing financial duties, its size would become so unwieldy that there would appear to be no alternative to dividing it up, and one would then lose some of the main advantages of having all of what we call supply finance handled by a single division. Moreover, there is in any case a lot to be said for having a fairly standard pattern of organisation throughout the Ministry, if only for the benefit of the R.A.F. officers working there, who are constantly on the move. The latter normally do not take long to understand the split between a finance division's and a secretarial division's responsibilities, but may be not a little confused if this split is made in some parts of the Ministry but not in others. Therefore, if the split is inescapable in some instances, there is some advantage in adopting it universally. Other devices can then be used in any cases where the resultant divisions may be on the small side. For example, the same Assistant Secretary is head of both the secretarial and the finance divisions which deal primarily with the Auxiliary and Reserve Forces.

Nor, of course, must it be forgotten that secretarial and finance divisions

covering the same or similar fields usually come under the same Assistant Under-Secretary of State and, after him, the same Deputy Under-Secretary of State. There is therefore no lack of co-ordination between their respective activities. Indeed, and as is only to be expected, their superiors will very often be themselves handling the sort of business which by its nature belongs to one or other of these two types of division, but because of its importance or for other reasons has to be dealt with at a higher level.

Planned Posting

Another significant element in the co-ordination of the Ministry's administration is the fact that civil servants, like the R.A.F. officers I mentioned earlier, keep on the move from one job to another. Admittedly their movements are less frequent than those of R.A.F. officers, and in the ordinary way they are most unlikely to move outside their present Ministry. But one does get in this way a constant cross-fertilisation, not only between secretarial and finance divisions, or between these divisions and the other parts of the Permanent Under-Secretary of State's Department, but also between this latter Department and those of Air Members of Council in which, as I mentioned earlier, there are a number of civil service posts established. This not only gives each civil servant a first-hand knowledge of how other parts of the Ministry work and probably enables him to bring at least some new ideas with him to each successive job he does, but also keeps him abreast of the sort of practical co-ordination which is necessary and how this can best be achieved. Whatever its incidental inconveniences and other practical difficulties, what goes by the name of the "planned posting" of civil servants is clearly most necessary in principle.

Conclusion

To wind up, I need only say that, in dealing primarily with administration in a single Department in which what I am calling "technical officers" are of very major importance, I hope that my remarks have been sufficiently general to focus attention on some of the main administrative problems which I feel sure are bound to arise, if sometimes in less extreme forms, in almost any government organisation where technical officers have a significant part to play.

Training the Technician in Administrative Practices

By S. A. BAILEY, C.B., M.B.E.

This article is based on one of the papers discussed at the Nottingham Conference of the Institute held from 15th-17th April, 1955. Mr. Bailey was formerly Principal Establishment Officer, Ministry of Transport.

AT the outset it might be well to consider the meaning we should attach to the word "administration," which is used in many different and contradictory senses. In aiming at a definition, I should like to quote from an article by Sir Hector Hetherington in *The Times* of 7th November, 1945, announcing the plan to found an Administrative Staff College, in which he says :

The administrator's business is to provide the conditions under which the work of a team can come to good effect in the achievement of some co-operative purpose. Administration is a word of varying import. At one end of the scale is the simple executive function of applying known rules to the given case—sometimes not so simple. At the other end administration shades off into leadership, policy-making and planning : it may be a sphere of genius.

In the Civil Service we have rather a specialised meaning. There the word covers such things as the general consideration of policy, the determination of the advice to be given to Ministers as to what is possible—and the steps to be taken to make it possible—as against what is desirable ; and the general administration and control of Government departments. But I think this is too restricted for our purpose. The management of a large professional or scientific staff is quite clearly administration.

For our purposes, therefore, we should, I suggest, interpret the word as relating to management at all levels with particular stress on the higher levels, i.e., in Sir Hector Hetherington's words, the task of providing the conditions under which the work of a team can come to good effect.

By and large, in whatever sense it is understood, administration is concerned with the interaction of individuals in relation to a common end : the balancing of the opinion of one expert against another, the evaluation of the prejudices of persons whose co-operation is essential to the success of the project ; and securing good will not only for the end but for the means. The people concerned are not only those under one's own control, or colleagues in the same organisation : they may indeed be quite remote and their views may have to be guessed at rather than known. To arrive at the right kind of answer some knowledge of current economic and political thought and trends is clearly necessary. A large part of the assessment must, however, be the probable reaction to a proposal not only of one's masters—be they members of the Council or of Parliament—but also of different sections of the population that may be affected. This perhaps is the most difficult part of the whole business. The same facts are viewed in quite different lights according to the political maturity or the social environment of the persons concerned, and ingrained prejudices or myths

may be proof against the best of arguments if these are out of accord with the manner of thought of the persons addressed. The suspicion that "they," which too often means officials, have some ulterior motive is most easily engendered; and this is one of the most common obstacles to intelligent administration and therefore one to which any administrator has to have special regard.

In this field the element of time is of great importance. A decision at a particular moment may or may not be the best decision—it may even be wrong if taken at another time—the important thing is that it should be taken while the material is still malleable, with the best consideration of the information then available. To wait for further facts may mean a decision that is intellectually more satisfactory—but the factors have by that time changed and the facts gathered are irrelevant.

It is too often assumed that the art of administration—or management, call it what you will—is something inherent in nature; that it is simply the application of common sense and that, given the facts, the solution of a problem is obvious. This may be so: but what is so often forgotten is that common sense is by no means a universal attribute, that in the majority of instances no two persons would, in a given set of circumstances, have a common sense on a particular problem—especially where one is looking at the obverse of a coin and the other at the reverse—and that a large number of problems require several common senses for their solution.

One other aspect ought not to be lost sight of. As an individual's responsibilities increase he finds that his own special skills more and more cease to be the dominant aspect of his work. His expert knowledge is used not so much for specific technical problems, but in guiding and advising his subordinates in the way in which they should work; in co-ordinating the work of different subordinates so that effort is not wasted; in evaluating the opinions of specialists in fields of which he has no special knowledge; and in determining the advice to be given to those who ultimately have to decide how far action is to proceed. What this probably means is that, above a certain level, no one is primarily a technician.

This being the background, there can, I suggest, be no argument as to the desirability that all persons who are likely to be called upon to administer (in whatever sense)—and this means all persons (and not only technicians) who may have the direction of a defined sphere of action—should have some kind of training so that they may appreciate what the problems are, and have some guidance as to the various ways in which problems can be tackled.

Special Needs of the Technician

As, however, we are concerned mainly with the training of technicians in administration, I will, greatly daring, though with diffidence, venture to suggest that a technician has a hurdle to clear which is not in the path of persons of a different experience.

The whole training of a technician (or so it seems to a layman) tends towards a pursuit of perfectionism. He feels, quite rightly I suggest, that he should not be content with a particular design, or the execution of that

design, or the pursuit of a line of research, until he is satisfied that it is the best that can be achieved within the limits set. He is concerned with things that are concrete: he can visualise more or less accurately his results, and he tends to be sceptical of final judgments which are based on data which are necessarily incomplete. He has, too, generally the possibility of verifying any tentative judgment by further experiment and, by and large, if further experiment proves that that judgment is wrong, nothing is really lost except time. There is, too, a tendency to continue to allow technical considerations on subjects of particular interest to the individual, to carry undue weight—to the detriment not only of good administration but to the development of one's subordinates.

I am conscious that I have unduly coloured this picture, which is necessarily incomplete and may in some aspects be inaccurate. But let me make one thing quite clear. Nothing is further from my purpose than to argue that a successful technician cannot become a successful administrator: that is clearly untrue. Most of them have to be, in order to be successful technicians. All that I do want to say is that he often does not take kindly to it, and may at first find the water cold! To that extent I suppose it might be said that there is greater need for training.

It being accepted that training is necessary, what is being done about it? Prior to the 1939-45 war little, if any, attention was given in this country to the wider aspects of management training. It was largely assumed that such training could be left to individual supervisors and to the individual initiative of the juniors. Since the war the necessity for some form of training in a wider context, and the provision of facilities for that purpose, has been increasingly recognised.

It may well be that, in recognising this need, the value of, and the necessity for, the older method of training on the work itself by experienced and knowledgeable seniors has faded too much into the background. This is something to which I will refer later; but, leaving this for the moment, a quick review of what is being done in the way of organised training in the Civil Service for administration or management, as distinct from "vocational training," may be of value.

I should perhaps say here that what I have to say will relate to training in general rather than particularly to the training of technicians in administrative techniques. This is almost necessarily so in that many of the courses, indeed most outside the Civil Service, are designed for persons of all sorts of backgrounds and it is on training for management, or administration, that the emphasis is laid and not on the training of persons of one kind of experience rather than another.

Training within the Civil Service

The pattern of training in the Civil Service stems from the Report of the Ascheton Committee on the Training of Civil Servants, which was published in 1944. While this Committee did not pursue in detail the methods of training of the Professional Grades, and largely confined its attention to the Clerical, Executive and Administrative Grades, some of the more general principles enunciated by the Committee are relevant to our purpose.

While accepting that the object of training was, to attain the highest degree of efficiency, the Committee felt that this was not exact enough and, in attempting something more definite, said :

In any large scale organisation efficiency depends on two elements : the technical efficiency of the individual to do the particular work allotted to him, and the less tangible efficiency of the organisation as a corporate body derived from the collective spirit and outlook of the individuals of which the body is composed. Training must have regard to both elements.

Clearly it is the second of these elements with which we are mainly concerned here. It is, however, this second element that makes it so difficult to deal with the training of technicians in administrative techniques as something that should be separately regarded : any training which has regard to the collective spirit must clearly have much in common.

The Committee recommended that the Treasury should direct general control over training ; and also that there should be a planned training scheme within each large Department. It further recommended that there should be encouragement to staff to attend courses for both vocational and general educational purposes, and that there should be arrangements for men likely to hold positions of high responsibility to have a break from their normal duties for purposes of study and for foreign travel.

In accordance with the first of these recommendations, a special Division of the Treasury has been set up—known as the Training and Education Division—which, in addition to the general oversight of training in the Service, conducts a number of central courses for training instructors, for training in certain subjects, e.g., for supervisors, where this can more conveniently be arranged centrally or where it is desirable to have an admixture of people from various Departments. It also devotes special attention to, and has courses for, the training of newly-entered Assistant Principals.

Training Conferences of Senior Officials

Most of the Treasury courses are not germane to our subject, but I should refer particularly to one activity which is of particular relevance and of which I have first-hand knowledge. This is the series of conferences (of which at present there are three a year) for senior Civil Servants in the salary bracket of approximately £1,700 to £2,000 a year. It will be noted that these are called conferences and not courses, the title emphasising that the value lies not so much in the information imparted as in the discussion between the members of the conference.

As I have said, there are at present three such conferences each year ; one of these is for non-professional officers—Assistant Secretaries and persons of comparable status in the Executive Class—the other two are for scientists or engineers, architects, etc. Until the conference which was held at the end of last month, each of these what I might call professional conferences consisted almost entirely of one or the other of these groups, with one or two administrators added. The latest conference was a mixture of scientists, engineers and architects, and there was a couple of administrators. At each of the two latest conferences we have added a supernumerary member

from another country.

The conferences are residential and last for eight days. The membership is so chosen as to get a reasonable representation of different Departments and of different kinds of work. The usual attendance is about twenty.

The purpose of the conferences is to discuss questions of management and organisation—these words being used in their widest sense—which are likely to affect, or be of interest to, the members in their day-to-day work.

The opening session consists of a brief description by each of the members of the work on which he is engaged. The last session is devoted to an evaluation, by the members, of the results of the conference and to suggestions for the improvement of the programme or of the arrangements. One day (or the major part of a day) is given to a visit to some establishment where some light on the problems under discussion can be obtained.

The other days are divided into four sessions, each of one and a half hours. Certain of these sessions are devoted to discussion by groups, under the chairmanship of one of their number, of some specific aspect of management, to prepared briefs, or to further discussion by the whole conference of the conclusions of the separate groups. The briefs ask for discussion of some aspect of management in the light of the experience of the members. For example, at the latest conference three subjects were chosen. The first was the question of delegation of authority: whether there was sufficient delegation, what determined how much authority could be delegated, how the senior officer could ensure that the work delegated was proceeding satisfactorily without limiting the discretion of the junior officer, how sufficient information on current policies could be supplied to the juniors. The second was the steps to be taken to maintain the vitality of the staff and of the organisation as a whole, e.g., how one could overcome the tendency of everyone, and particularly those on "routine" work, to lose initiative and interest, to be content with existing methods and practices, and even to resist change. The third subject was the respective roles of the professional and the non-professional administrative Civil Servant and the ways of securing greater co-operation and mutual understanding, and of avoiding, or removing, any difficulties.

The remainder of the sessions follow a different pattern. At these a speaker, chosen for his knowledge and experience of a particular subject, is asked to prepare a paper, or a summary of the points he will cover, which is circulated to the members beforehand, and to introduce the subject in a talk lasting about half an hour. The remaining hour of the session is occupied by questions and discussion.

The programme for each conference necessarily varies, but the subjects (apart from those chosen for group discussion) fall into three classes—though the distinction between them is to some extent artificial.

First, the more general aspects of management in the Civil Service, e.g., the functions of the Treasury in relation to the Government as employer; financial control; and, on more specific issues, the human factors in management (dealt with from the health aspect and also in the light of practice outside the Civil Service), promotion problems, the relations between H.Q. and outstations.

Second, those which have a more direct bearing on the work of the

members of the conference and are likely to disclose specific problems, e.g., the place of science and technology in the machinery of government; some economic aspects of research and development; and research and development in private industry.

Third, those of a more general interest likely to lead to comparisons with organisations with an international aspect—e.g., the work of the Commonwealth Telecommunications Board.

The main purpose of these conferences is, as has been said, to provoke discussion, and it is the aim of the person in charge of the conference to direct the discussions off the particular to the general. The fact that the conference is residential means that discussion is not confined to the programmed sessions. Members have the opportunity of exchanging ideas with colleagues of equal rank in other Departments, of riding hobby horses with a different audience and perchance not suffering the usual fall, and of sitting back and viewing their own practices with a vision not obstructed by the "in tray."

One naturally asks how far these conferences fulfil the purposes for which they were designed. I find it difficult to say. We are still largely in the field of experiment and any effect must be long-term. All that can be said is that, up to the present, the view of the members has been that they have felt that the experience was a stimulating one, well worth while to them, and that they feel that their outlook has been enlarged. Those I have had the opportunity of meeting some time after a conference has ended have been even more satisfied that the experience was one that they would have been very sorry to miss.

Just one further point. The decision that the members invited to attend these conferences should be of quite senior status was taken very deliberately. People of the status chosen are at the point when they can have a very material influence on the working of their Departments, and any benefit they may derive from their attendance can and should have effect over a very wide field, and should in addition help to stimulate training in their own Department.

Sabbatical Leave

I should make some slight reference to the question of sabbatical leave. Among the most significant of the opportunities available to civil servants are:

(a) Attendance at the Joint Services Staff College, the Imperial Defence College or the Administrative Staff College.

(b) Commonwealth Fund Home Civil Service Fellowships, for study and travel in the U.S.A.

(c) Nuffield Foundation Fellowships for Home Civil Servants, for study and travel in overseas parts of the Commonwealth.

(d) Gwilym Gibbon Research Fellowships tenable at Nuffield College, Oxford, for the purpose of enquiring into some problem of Government.

These opportunities are available to scientists, engineers, etc. equally with officers of different experience.

TRAINING THE TECHNICIAN IN ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES

Departmental Training Arrangements

Some Departments have given special attention to the training of technicians in administration. I will only mention three, each of which has adapted its methods to the work of the technicians employed in the Department.

The first of these is the Ministry of Supply, who hold conferences for various classes of technicians aimed at initiating their senior officers into the esoterics of the organisation of the Ministry. These conferences are residential, last for six days and follow broadly the same kind of pattern, bearing in mind the somewhat different purpose, as the conferences run by the Treasury, which I have already described.

The General Post Office, in addition to their residential management training centre, have residential courses lasting three weeks for the training of technologists in management and administrative problems, these being taken to embrace problems outside the purely specialised professional or technical sphere of the individual concerned. The course is centred on sound instruction in human relations, the main objective being that of developing confidence in the students for the effective solution of their own problems in their own way. The course is based on case work, the cases being based on problems which have actually arisen, care being taken to avoid identification of the actual incidents. There is some academic work from the books of writers on the subject and there are also visitors of high level some of whom do not lecture but answer questions.

The Ministry of Housing and Local Government has a different problem. The professional staff in this Department acts in an advisory and consultative capacity, and for this reason have to work in very close co-operation at all stages with the "administrative" staff. The aim of training is therefore to improve the relations between the two kinds of staff, to give the professional staff a balanced view of the respective functions, and to ensure that reports produced by the professional staff contain all the facts necessary for decision in a form that will assist in framing further action. The Department has for some time had a training scheme to this end. This took the form of refresher courses of the class-room type, but the Department was not convinced that these were producing the right results.

They have now adopted a short course lasting two and a half days. At each course some specific subject within the purview of the Department, e.g., urban redevelopment, is taken as the focus of attention. The persons attending the course are split into groups which are required to study a given problem within the subject, and to present reports. These reports are submitted to a directing staff of two, one, a professional, in the chair, and the other an administrative officer, who criticise the reports as to their general layout, the manner in which they are introduced by the Group Chairmen, and any features of them which would impair their usefulness as a basis for administrative action. They are then discussed by the whole body of those attending. Apart from this there are two talks: one by a professional officer on some matter related to the main subject, e.g., the economics of high density development; and the other by an administrative officer on the conduct of official business illustrated by reference to a technical report from a Departmental file. The method is still experimental, but the indications are that it is likely to prove more successful than previous methods.

Training in the Job

I said earlier in my talk that I would refer again to the possibility that training on the work by knowledgeable seniors might have faded too much into the background. I hope that I am wrong. It is evident that as life becomes more complex, as more and more specialisation develops, much background information not available other than through organised courses is essential for good administration. It is also true that only organised courses can and do extend contacts and give wider visions than can be obtained in the work itself. But something is still lacking. Courses cannot, and do not claim to, fulfil all the needs. The young officer needs the constant and sympathetic guidance of an experienced senior. This guidance must take the form not only of instructing him in his daily work but of sensing the needs of the junior for more information or for wider contacts. It is only those who see him at work day in and day out who can advise him what he should do to increase his knowledge and value: to say whether attendance at a particular course is or is not desirable and to guide him by practical demonstration. Only the wise senior officer can give stimulus, or provide deflation, at the right time, give help where and when it is required, and say when it is right to forget books for a bit and concentrate on other matters and *vice versa*.

Only within the organisation itself can the individual be given the necessary experience of dealing with various classes of work and be given chances to develop the particular talents he possesses. One method of training is to give junior officers an opportunity of accompanying their seniors when matters of policy are being considered. It is, to my mind, also essential that technical and administrative officers should secure that neither of them deals with any problem with which the other may in some way be connected, even remotely or at some distance in time, without full consultation at the earliest stages.

In other words the old system of apprenticeship is still an essential part of training. As it was somewhat aptly put by an experienced industrialist in an article in the *British Management Review*—I am quoting somewhat out of context—"Courses supply the 'know what,' senior managers supply the 'know how'; their responsibility for developing younger managers is always there and recognition of that is part of their job." This, I am sure you will agree, is as true of the public services as it is of industry: it remains true that one of the important tasks of a senior officer is to secure a competent successor.

Selection and the Social Background of the Administrative Class

By KENNETH ROBINSON

After twelve years in the Administrative Class, Mr. Robinson returned to Oxford as Reader in Colonial Government and Official Fellow of Nuffield College. He has since had a good deal of experience as a part-time member of the Directing Staff of the Civil Service Selection Board.

HIGHER *Civil Servants in Britain from 1870 to the Present Day*¹ is not, as the title might reasonably be thought to imply, a comprehensive study of the Higher Civil Service, but an examination of the social background of the Administrative Class, undertaken as part of a larger enquiry into social stratification and social mobility in Britain which has been carried out by the Department of Sociological and Demographic Research at the London School of Economics. The author has not, however, confined himself to answering the question from what social strata Higher Civil Servants (i.e., the Administrative Class and, more particularly, those of Assistant Secretary or higher rank) have been recruited since Gladstone's Order in Council of 1870, which he takes as marking the real beginning of the period in which it is possible to consider the Higher Civil Service as constituting a profession. He has also considered the further question whether the methods of selection have involved any weighting of the scales in favour of those from the higher social strata or any penalising of those from the lower. Finally, in his concluding chapter entitled "The Nature of the Profession," which is largely concerned with the relative social esteem enjoyed by Higher Civil Servants, Mr. Kelsall ventures more explicitly into a different issue with which he has, if only by implication, also been concerned in earlier chapters and considers, though still rather obliquely, a third question, namely "What qualities are desirable in Higher Civil Servants?"

To answer the first of these three questions, which is, of course, his central topic, Mr. Kelsall has assembled, with some help from the Civil Service Commission, the Registrars-General, and the Treasury, data relating to Higher Civil Servants (i.e., those members of the Administrative Class of, or above, the rank of Assistant Secretary) in 1929, 1939 and 1950, showing their method of entry to the Administrative Class, their schools and universities, their father's occupation and their "career-success" as indicated by the time taken to reach a given rank in the civil service hierarchy. He has also studied the association between career-success and other factors (school, marks in written and *viva voce* parts of the examination) of direct entrants between 1909 and 1939, and the extent of "wastage" in this group. A study of the schools, universities and social origin of entrants by open competition in the four years 1949-1952 has also been made, as well as an historical survey of "the main aspects of recruitment policy and practice" since 1870. Mr. Kelsall begins with a full and useful account of how the data required were assembled. He then examines in turn the various methods of entry—promotion, open competition and "other methods" (e.g., direct

¹By R. K. Kelsall. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955. Pp. xvi+233. 25s.

entry and transfer from professional or technical classes)—before proceeding to consider the schools and universities, and social origins of Higher Civil Servants, the social and educational background of the Permanent Heads of six Departments in 1888, 1912, 1929 and 1950. As a result of this, inevitably laborious, enquiry we now have, he claims, "social origin information for the senior ranks of the Higher Civil Service in 1950, 1939 and 1929 of a more complete and direct character than exists for any other professional group." It will not, I hope, be considered a disparagement of this work to point out, however, that so far as it is concerned with the first of the three questions, it does not suggest any startlingly novel conclusions. The supersession of patronage produced an Administrative Class, the great majority of whose members were the children of upper-middle class or professional parents, though it was never an entirely close preserve of that group. More recently, the basis of recruitment has been widened, though more by filling a greater proportion of Administrative Class posts by promotion from other parts of the Civil Service, than by the broadening of the educational ladder showing itself among the entrants by open competition.

Mr. Kelsall remarks that it will not be possible to provide an answer "for a very long time to come, if at all" to the question "whether the State can obtain the ablest servants whilst at the same time satisfying the demands of its citizens for equality of opportunity." In his view the only possible answer is that "we should continue the experiment and see how it works." He emphasises that "we have no objective means of judging whether higher civil servants used to perform their tasks with greater or less success than they do now," and his yardstick of career-success has been, as stated above, the time taken to reach a given rank in the hierarchy. He points out that "when interpreting the results it is always to be borne in mind that the decision to promote is taken by higher officials who may, consciously or otherwise, have a preference for men of their own type." This yardstick is, however, somewhat imperfect for another reason, namely that, certainly up to the rank of Assistant Secretary and very largely even to that of Under-Secretary, promotion has been on a Departmental, rather than a Service, basis and the time taken to secure such promotion has varied a good deal as between different Departments for reasons which have nothing to do with the ability of those concerned.

If Mr. Kelsall does not explicitly advocate the recruitment of the Administrative Class wholly by promotion, it soon becomes clear that he has some very definite, if seldom avowed, assumptions about the extent to which this is desirable. It was "an improvement" when a Permanent Secretary spoke of the Civil Service as organised in "castes" (p. 45), while the fact that two of the six heads of certain Departments in 1950 "had not had a university education" was "a hopeful sign for the future" (p. 165), and in some Departments there were, in 1911, "no promoted men to provide a haven for the Class I staff" (p. 41). He remarks that "it was frequently stated by Heads of Departments giving evidence before the MacDonnell Commission that the loss of pay which a Second Division man might sometimes, and a staff clerk would usually, suffer on promotion to the First Division formed a much more serious obstacle than the mere difficulty of obtaining Treasury sanction to the change in status. This was probably quite often merely a convenient

excuse for inaction" (p. 33). Not only does Mr. Kelsall cite no evidence whatever to support this suggestion of hypocritical dishonesty in some of the most responsible men in the country, but he omits to notice that the spokesman of the Second Division clerks before the Commission not merely instanced a man whose promotion "after repeated applications by the head of his department to the Treasury" reduced his salary from £330 to £200, but himself asserted that men were "frequently" obliged to refuse such promotion for this reason and stated categorically that this rule had prevented promotion². Incidentally, the reference on page 44 to the *London Gazette* notice that certain promotions would not require recertification by the Civil Service Commissioners is incorrect and should read 7th March, 1922.

It is in his discussion of open competition that Mr. Kelsall most considers the second of the three questions. Here he covers the familiar ground of the "over-representation" of Oxford and Cambridge graduates among the successful entrants by open competition. In spite of changes in the written examination requirements which at the very least gave a less marked preference to those who had studied the classics at either of these universities, the proportion of successful candidates from them actually increased from 80 per cent. in the decade before the First World War to 90 per cent. in the period 1933-1939. Since the last war, while the combined Oxford and Cambridge proportion dropped to 74 per cent. in 1949-1952, Oxford's importance relative to other universities has actually increased. Even if allowance is made for the "creaming" of university students by Oxford and Cambridge by assuming that the proportion of successful candidates which they might be expected to secure is indicated not by the proportion of their honours graduates to the total output of honours graduates, but by the proportion of state scholarship holders studying at Oxford and Cambridge as compared with other universities, the "expected" proportion of successes would be increased from 32 per cent. only to 49 per cent. as against actual successes of 73 per cent. While Mr. Kelsall thinks this discrepancy in pre-war years (when it was still greater) may have been due to the "fact that, when interviewed, the products of these universities displayed the characteristics of traditional higher civil servants to a greater extent than did their counterparts from other universities," he considers this much less likely to be true of post-war competitions and is inclined to the view that the main factor is the failure of candidates from the other universities in England and Wales besides London to put themselves forward. This examination of the problem is agreeably more detached than the observation in an editorial in the *Political Quarterly's* special number on the Civil Service: "The domination of Oxford and Cambridge graduates still continues in the administrative class. Is this possibly due to most of the examiners being appointed from those universities?"³—a question which might provoke the irreverent riposte: "The criticism of Oxford and Cambridge predominance in the open competitions for the Civil Service still continues. Is this possibly due to most of the critics continuing to be, as they seem to have been in the past, professionally connected with another university?"

²Cd. 6535, p. 17.

³*Political Quarterly*, Vol. xxv, p. 300.



The most interesting part of Mr. Kelsall's study of selection procedure is his sustained attack on the addition of a compulsory interview to the written examination upon the resumption of open competition in 1925. He shows that in the written competition during the period 1925-1939 candidates from day schools secured higher marks than those from boarding schools, and those from Clarendon Schools⁴ secured lower marks than those from other schools, while candidates from schools administered by local education authorities scored higher marks than those from other schools. *Per contra*, in the interview, entrants from Clarendon Schools did better than those from other schools, those from predominantly boarding schools did better than those from day schools, and those from local education authority schools did worse than those from other schools. Moreover, while there was a significant correlation between both written examination and interview marks and career-success (measured by rapidity in reaching the rank of Principal before 1939), it was significantly greater in the former than in the latter case. The pre-war interview, in short, whether or not it can be considered reliable in testing "alertness, intelligence and intellectual outlook, presence of mind and nervous equipoise"—the qualities with which it was supposed to be concerned—gave a preference to candidates from public and boarding schools. Mr. Kelsall is more concerned with this "social bias" than with the unreliability of this type of interview and he thinks that the longer interview now given (from 45-60 minutes as opposed to 15-20 minutes before the war) and the supplementary material now available to the Final Board either in the form of notes of a pre-board interview by an experienced interviewer (in the case of Method I candidates) or a C.S.S.B. report (in the case of Method II candidates) should make it more successful in achieving its purpose than the pre-war *viva voce*. Whether it will be is at least open to doubt: the number of interviewers is very large and many of them act only for a day or two with the result that Boards have small experience of interviewing as a group. Further investigation of the reliability of the post-war Board is highly desirable: it can hardly be contested that the imperfections of the written examination as a test "of the faculty of sound judgment, common sense, resourcefulness and resolution," to which witnesses before the MacDonnell Commission referred, make it desirable to supplement it by other tests of such qualities. It is also very probable that tests more reliable than these vague interviews by a miscellaneous collection of people could be devised to test them. It would not, however, be surprising if such tests were also found to give a preference to candidates from independent and boarding schools, just as the purely written examination, in all its varieties, has been found to give a preference to Oxford and Cambridge graduates.

The thoughtful discussion of Method II in this book is marred by the bold assumption that candidates are good judges of the qualities of their fellow candidates and of their probable assessment by the Directing Staff. This is certainly not always so, and it is not clear what evidence Mr. Kelsall has for the assertion: "Those who have been tested in this way seem to be in broad agreement regarding the type of candidate likely to succeed in the competition. He must be able to talk fluently on a variety of subjects,

⁴I.e., Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Rugby, Harrow, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors, and Shrewsbury.

and with *apparent* first-hand knowledge of at least one. He must steer a middle course between bumptiousness and modesty. He must be able to argue his way out of a tight corner. He must be *rapid rather than thoughtful*. Life in a residential college is *probably* more likely to develop these qualities than attendance as a day student. Men from Oxford and Cambridge often find they have been debating the subjects chosen for C.I.S.S.B. group discussion ever since they left school; though they privately regard many of these topics as hackneyed and stale, their practice in both formal and informal discussion enables them to marshal the relevant arguments with originality and skill" (p. 92, italics mine). If, in fact, candidates find the topics they are asked to discuss "hackneyed and stale," it must be in a more subtle sense than is suggested since they are guaranteed that the first group discussion will be on a topical current affairs subject.

Mr. Kelsall never directly considers the third question: "What qualities are desirable in higher civil servants?" His approach to it in the last chapter of his book is rather to consider what should be done to remedy the deficiencies to which they are, it appears, prone. Those "who claim to know something" about them (who seem, in fact, to be Professor Cole, Mr. Greaves, the late Harold Laski and an anonymous "Temporary Civil Servant"), criticise them "for being cautious, for lack of drive and personal vitality, for having a negative attitude of mind, for smugness and complacency, for being out of touch with working-class problems and ignorant of recent advances in both the natural and the social sciences" (p. 189). But this "formidable indictment" is indeed only to be expected: "If we look at the education and career of the typical open competition entrant of the past it is not difficult to distinguish a large number of features likely to foster the development of qualities of the kind described" (p. 190). In short, as that master of objective sociology, Mr. A. L. Rowse, has said, "What is wrong . . . with the Civil Service is something that is wrong with the middle class." Mr. Kelsall adds some further "elements" which seem, however, largely to be the same thing: the wretched creatures have been "over-driven in boyhood and youth" and show "a resulting lack of mental and nervous energy"; unaccustomed to ample private means, they lack "self-confidence and poise," and display an "absence of that high courage that aristocrats possess" (this, of course, is Mr. Rowse again), "and adventurers are not wholly without." Finally, few of them are specialists in scientific subjects, economics, or the newer branches of social study. Thus "even before he joined the Service," Mr. Kelsall concludes, "a typical senior administrator probably displayed most of the characteristics that are commonly attributed to the higher civil servant in his maturity." When all allowances have been made, "there remains," he says, "an impressive body of what are widely held to be defects in temper and attitude of mind" (p. 191).

How can this be remedied? Although Mr. Kelsall thinks there is still "a certain amount of truth" in Herman Finer's pre-war assertion that "if their composition included the memory of misery, hunger, squalor, bureaucratic oppression and economic insecurity, perhaps a quality would be added to their work in the highest situations which could not fail to impress the Minister at a loss for a policy or an argument," it would be a mistake to exclude direct entrants from the universities completely and in future we

may look to the improvement of the educational ladder to continue widening the range from which higher civil servants are drawn. In short, Mr. Kelsall accepts, after all, the view of the Majority Report of the MacDonnell Commission. It may, however, be doubted, both on empirical and *a priori* grounds, whether Professor Finer's argument had much to be said for it, at any rate in a socially stratified society in which the higher civil servant was accepted as a member of one of the higher strata. Men who succeed in entering it from much lower strata may be just as likely to take the view that failure to rise is the result not of the faulty organisation of society but of the defects of those who fail. The successful industrialists who rose from the humblest origins in the nineteenth century were not generally supposed to be those with the greatest regard for their workpeople, as much contemporary fiction shows. And, on the other hand, many of those who have enjoyed some of the advantages of inherited wealth (or even those obtained for them by severe sacrifice on the part of their "middle class" parents) have been obsessed by a sense of social guilt. There is not really very much reason to suppose that the son of working class parents, whether he enters the Administrative Class by open competition or promotion, will necessarily have greater regard to the interests of the workers than the child of middle or upper class parents.

Mr. Kelsall has some hesitations about the desirability of increasing the number of scientists and technicians in the Administrative Class and points out that, while various methods might be used to this end, especially transfer from the scientific and technical classes, other countries where this is the usual route to the highest posts feel the need for officials with a general rather than a specialist training. Service conditions cannot be changed "so substantially as to produce major modifications in the attitude of mind of senior administrators," although "*almost anyone* who has studied the Administrative Class can, *of course*, suggest numerous improvements in organisation" (p. 194, italics mine). But, even if applied, they would "leave untouched the fundamental Service causes of hesitancy, caution and lack of reformist zeal," which it seems are largely "the paralysing effect of House of Commons criticism" (p. 196). Mr. Kelsall wholeheartedly accepts Laski's assertion that one of the "main arduous of the British Civil Service, to which immense energy is devoted, is the concealment of . . . blunders from the public view and especially from the view of Parliament." It is possible to exaggerate the extent of this activity and in my view Laski, and his numerous echoes, have done so. But our government is, in Professor Wheare's phrase, a "Parliamentary bureaucracy," and it is this, of course, which determines, regrettable as it may be to social engineers and others filled with "reformist zeal," the qualities which are required in the bureaucrat. They are both intellectual and moral and it is, perhaps, more important that the 2,700 members of the Administrative Class should possess them than that they should not have been to public schools, not have been to Oxford or Cambridge, and not, above all, had "middle class" parents.

Are Public Inquiries a Farce?

By H. W. R. WADE

This talk by a Fellow of Trinity College and Lecturer in Law, Cambridge University, was given on the Third Programme and is reprinted from "The Listener," 25th August, 1955.

ONE of the planks in the Conservative Party's election platform was the subject of administrative justice: they undertook to hold an inquiry into the whole question of quasi-judicial decisions made by Ministers. For many years this has been the source of smouldering discontent, and from time to time there have been eruptions of public feeling. One occurred last year over Crichel Down, and that no doubt had a good deal to do with the Conservative pledge which the Government is now proceeding to implement by setting up a committee of inquiry. Many people will remember an earlier outcry in 1929, when the late Lord Hewart, then Lord Chief Justice, published *The New Despotism*, a forthright attack on what he called "Administrative Lawlessness." This also was made the occasion for setting up a committee, the Committee on Ministers' Powers, which after over two years of labour submitted a report to the Lord Chancellor which is still the starting-point for a study of the subject. Many recommendations were made; but few of them were acted on. The original outcry had subsided, and the report found its way on to the shelf.

Public inquiries are only one corner of the field covered by Lord Hewart's book and by the Ministers' Powers Committee. But they are a good topic to select, since a great many people are now familiar with them, and they bring out the contrast between judicial and administrative methods in a particularly striking way. Typical examples are the public inquiries which are held in the case of planning schemes, new towns, slum clearance, and trunk roads; they are a regular feature of modern legislation. All these inquiries are prescribed by Act of Parliament—there is no general code of law for them, as there is in the United States, but each Act contains a set of provisions in more or less standardised form. The object is to deal with all the objections which local schemes usually provoke, and there is now a stereotyped procedure which is copied by one Act from another.

These inquiries are quite different from the Crichel Down inquiry, which was not held under any Act of Parliament but was a voluntary and extra-legal inquiry commissioned by a Minister into the workings of his own department. The inquiries I am speaking of are obligatory by statute, and they are one step on the road towards the making of a ministerial order which may have drastic effects on private rights. The sequence of events is laid down in each Act, usually in a schedule: first the development plan, slum-clearance scheme, or whatever it may be, must be published; all concerned then have the right to object to it; and if objections are lodged, as they commonly are, a public inquiry must be held on the spot.

The Minister is not expected to be present personally at a local inquiry: it is conducted by an official of the department, who must make a report to the Minister, and the Minister must consider the report before making his decision. In this age of planning a great many private people have made

the acquaintance of this procedure—and a good many, I fear, must have heard, if they have not made, some such bitter complaint as that “the inquiry was a farce; of course the Ministry had made up their minds from the beginning to confirm the order.”

No one makes this sort of complaint about the proceedings of a court of law. Yet the sole object of public inquiries is to give the objector a fair deal, on the principle—which our law has applied in the past to administrative as well as judicial procedure—that both sides of a case must be heard before it is decided. It is purely in order to satisfy objectors that the inquiry is held: where, then, does the trouble lie which so often makes them dissatisfied?

The trouble lies in the nature of things and not at the door of any particular people. Consider some of the differences between the procedure of a proper law court and that of a public inquiry. First, the objectors are not in the position of being able to wait for the case against them to be proved, so that they may know the arguments which they will have to rebut. They are fighting with a phantom opponent, for the initiative is put upon them and they may be in the dark as to the official motives behind the proposed order. It is true that local authorities often take part in inquiries and bring evidence to refute the objections. Development plans, for example, are prepared by county councils, and the county council usually appears at the inquiry in order to defend its proposals before the Minister's representative. This is a good practice so far as it goes, for something like a true contest may then develop over details. But in other cases—orders for New Towns, for example—local authorities are not responsible and the inquiry becomes simply a recital of objections, or just an opportunity for the objectors to blow off steam. The satisfaction of making your opponent prove his case, and exchanging blow for blow with him, is then completely lacking.

Next, observe the personnel of an inquiry. On the objectors' side there is often little difference from the usual legal forms: counsel are often employed, and at any important inquiry there will be an impressive array of wigs and gowns. Witnesses will be called and examined, some perhaps on behalf of a local authority as well as on behalf of the objectors. But to whom is all this addressed? Not to a judge, who will himself decide the case according to law and give a reasoned decision in open court; but to an inspector, an official of the Ministry concerned with the subject. The inspector usually conducts the inquiry with the greatest patience and fairness. But he himself takes no decision at all; he merely reports to the Minister. What is more, no member of the public will normally be allowed to see the report, so that the objectors will never know whether their objections were effective or not. Whitehall's cap of darkness descends on the whole proceedings while the report is studied in the Ministry, and all sorts of motives and arguments may be applied to it which are beyond the ken of the objectors. Finally, often after a long interval, it will be announced that the Minister has, or has not, confirmed the plan. Usually no reasons will be given, and there is no appeal against the final order.

Prosecutor, Judge, and Jury

The usual complaint is that the Minister is thus prosecutor, judge, and jury in his own case, and it is too much to expect the objections to be

ARE PUBLIC INQUIRIES A FARCE?

given fair weight. According to Lord Hewart, a public inquiry is in practice nugatory because the person who has the power of deciding is in no way bound by the report or recommendations of the person who holds the inquiry, and may entirely ignore the evidence which the inquiry brought to light. It seems absurd, he said, that one official should hold a public inquiry into the merits of a proposal, and that another official should be entitled, disregarding the report of the first, to give a decision on the merits.

From the tone of criticisms like Lord Hewart's one would suppose that some obvious remedy would be ready to hand. But in fact it is much easier to wax eloquent over the defects of public inquiries than to make constructive suggestions. The Committee of 1929 spent much pains on the subject, and they did recommend that inspectors' reports should be published, and that Ministers' decisions should be given in the form of reasoned documents available to the parties. These were admirable suggestions, but one notices that they assume that the procedure of public inquiries was fundamentally sound, and required only improvements in details. It is true that one more radical suggestion was also made, that in cases where the Minister was likely to be a particularly strong partisan of the proposals, the inquiry should be held before a special tribunal whose findings would be binding on the Minister. But this recommendation was intended only for exceptional cases, and it creates exceptional difficulties. The general tone of the report is conveyed in the remark that it was a finding of "not guilty" on the Civil Service, coupled with a warning not to do it again.

One readily sympathises with people who complain about the imperfections of public inquiries by comparison with courts of law. But if one is to criticise, one must also face the facts. The fact for which critics often fail to make allowance is the obvious one that the decision of a judge in court and the decision of a Minister in Whitehall are, and indeed ought to be, utterly different acts. The one is judicial, and the other is administrative. The old theory of the separation of powers, which in the eighteenth century was supposed to explain the exceptional liberties enjoyed by Englishmen, rested on the solid foundation that judicial and administrative acts were as different as chalk and cheese. I will not go into the theory of this, for anyone can see the difference. A legal decision is made by applying known rules to known facts—it is an objective process, and in theory the result is predictable. Learned judges often disagree, but still the principle of all law is predictability, and it is only on that principle that you can justify making the unsuccessful party pay the successful party's costs. In a court of law the ideal judge should act like a calculating machine. Feed him with the right facts, and the right legal rules and precedents, and you will get a correct resolution of the problem embodied in those facts and rules.

There is a great deal of discretion in the judicial process—the judge has to decide, for example, how a convicted thief should be punished, and his choice extends from a purely nominal sentence to a long term of imprisonment. But even then the judge still acts objectively, considering only the case before him, and applying a standard which is familiar though indefinable. A standing proof of this legal objectivity is the system of appeals, by which the judge's decision may be challenged on the ground that he has gone wrong—and a discretionary decision is as open to appeal as any other.

An Administrative Decision

Returning now to public inquiries, we find a complete contrast. The Minister's decision, to which everything else leads up, is not a judicial but an administrative one. That is to say, the Minister is bound by no rules to come to any particular decision—he merely acts as he thinks best. Although he is exercising legal power, he is not deciding according to law: he has complete discretion, political discretion, and he is a law unto himself. Instead of being objective and predictable, his decision is subjective and unpredictable. He may take all kinds of matters into account, for his only criterion is what is the best policy. This may vary greatly from time to time, according to the state of public opinion or the effective strength of the government in Parliament, or according to the resources of the exchequer, or according to the government's enthusiasm for enforcing the particular legislation. It is a decision of pure policy; there is no standard to apply, and no objective answer can be found in the bosom of the law or anywhere else.

This means that there is no logical relationship between the result of the inquiry and the Minister's decision. The Minister may decide that the social need for some project is so great that it must be pushed forward despite cogent practical objections. It by no means follows that he is wrong if he decides that all the objections are heavily outweighed by social need. Indeed, "right" and "wrong" are meaningless terms compared with the legal "right" and "wrong" by which a judge's decision can be tested in the Court of Appeal. For the Minister the only "right" or "wrong" is the opinion of Parliament, to which he is responsible and which he must estimate for himself. This is as different from a judicial process as anything can possibly be.

How, then, can the individual objector be given fair treatment, and sent away more or less satisfied, without putting spokes into the wheels of the governmental machine? This is the great problem of administrative law, the question how far the best elements of judicial process—fairness and objectivity—can be applied to political decisions. It is for this purpose that the term "quasi-judicial decision" has been coined. It is a vague and obscure term, indicating a hybrid creature wandering in the no-man's land between the judicial and administrative spheres. What it really means is an administrative decision—a Minister's decision on a planning scheme is a good example—which ought to be preceded by something like a legal process in order to give a fair hearing to people whose rights are likely to be affected. Public inquiries represent the attempt to provide that quasi-judicial process in a formal way. It can never give the same satisfaction as a real judicial process because of the Minister's freedom to decide as he pleases in the last resort.

"Publicity Is the Best Policy"

I see no escape from that, and that is why I think that the best course of reform is to make more of the documents in the case available to the public, as the Ministers' Powers Committee recommended. Officials have an occupational love of secrecy, but here the courts have a lesson to teach. In the fierce light which beats upon the bench, judges have all their errors exposed most unmercifully. Reversals on appeal are everyday events, but

ARE PUBLIC INQUIRIES A FARCE?

does the reputation of the bench suffer? The extraordinarily high standing of the judges, despite the almost incessant reversal of judgements, is a telling proof that publicity is the best policy.

It is interesting to look to the United States, where the defects of public inquiries have been attacked in a determined and ambitious spirit. In this particular sphere it must be confessed that Americans have shown themselves more zealous to protect private rights, though it does not follow that they have been more successful in doing so. In the last fifty years or so the American courts have laid down principles of administrative law which go much further than the decisions of the English courts, which have shown some tendency to abdicate from their function of laying down an elementary code of behaviour for government departments. But public feeling in America has also produced legislation, after study by a committee whose recommendations were speedily acted on. In 1946 was passed a Federal Administrative Procedure Act, which was partly concerned with improving the procedure at public inquiries. American law already went further than English law in allowing objectors to see inspectors' reports. Now, in addition, the Act allows objectors to see and challenge the intermediate reports which are prepared in the department for the use of the head of the department in making the final decision. And when the final decision is given it must be accompanied by reasons.

But the most striking thing of all in the Act is its attempt to apply the principle "the one who decides must hear," and to give the officials who conduct inquiries an independent status almost like that of judges. The intention of the Act is that in a normal case the hearing officer, the man who actually conducts the inquiry and hears the evidence, should not merely make a report to the department but should reach a decision himself. The business then goes forward to the department, and though they are not bound to uphold the hearing officer's decision, they expose themselves to criticism if they reject it. In order that the hearing officers may not be puppets of the departments, they are formed into a kind of corps within the Civil Service, with specially protected tenure. This is a most interesting experiment, in which one can perhaps see the germ of a judicial body developing within the Civil Service itself, as has happened also in France with the development of the Conseil d'Etat. Unfortunately it seems that the constitution of this special body of hearing officers has been the subject of a political tug-of-war in Washington, and it may be too early to say whether the experiment will succeed. There is also a school of thought in America which regards the Administrative Procedure Act as containing more pious aspiration than practical reform. But at least it shows a determination to find the utmost measure of justice which can be given to private people who come under the heavy hand of the state. If it fulfils only part of the hopes in which it was enacted it will be a great contribution to the law of the English-speaking countries.

Coming back to England, we find that we are still far short of the point from which the new American Act started. Much is therefore to be hoped from the fresh inquiry now impending. One must hope especially that our excellent principle of ministerial responsibility to Parliament will not be used, as it sometimes is, as an argument against acknowledging responsibility

to anyone else. The best answer to charges of administrative lawlessness is for the administration to take the citizen more into its confidence and recognise its duty to borrow from the judicial technique as far as can be done, even though it seems a great nuisance to officials. It is usually easy for a committee to make recommendations, but hard for a government department to accept them. A powerful and efficient Civil Service may in this respect be its own enemy; for it may forget the watchword of self-criticism.

COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS

The Lord Chancellor announced in the House of Lords on 1st November, 1955, the appointment of a Committee to consider and make recommendations on the constitution and working of administrative tribunals. The terms of reference of the Committee cover:

(a) The constitution and working of tribunals other than the ordinary courts of law, constituted under any Act of Parliament by a Minister of the Crown or for the purposes of a Minister's functions.

(b) The working of such administrative procedures as include the holding of an inquiry or hearing by, or on behalf of, a Minister, on an appeal or as the result of objections or representations, and in particular the procedure for the compulsory purchase of land.

Sir Oliver Franks is the Chairman of the Committee, and the other members are Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Mr. Roderic Bowen, Q.C., Mr. John Burman, Dame Florence Hancock, Mr. Douglas Johnston, Q.C., Sir Geoffrey King, The Marquess of Linlithgow, Major John Morrison, Miss K. M. Oswald, Lord Justice Parker, Mr. H. Wentworth Pritchard, Mr. Charles Russell, Q.C., Lord Silkin, Mr. Alan Symons, and Professor K. C. Wheare. The Secretary to the Commission is Mr. J. Littlewood of H.M. Treasury.

O & M in the Nationalised Industries

By RAYMOND NOTTAGE

The Director of the Royal Institute brings together information provided by the Nationalised Industries about the work of their O & M units.

A NUMBER of the major nationalised industries are now making increased use of O & M techniques. With the exception of London Transport Executive, however, the Boards have generally set up their O & M units only within the last few years, and they are nearly all still in the process of development. As the experience of the central government shows, it takes some little time before the value and potentialities of O & M units come to be generally recognised, and the Boards have, for the most part, proceeded somewhat tentatively.

In none of the industries nationalised during the period 1945-50 was a strong O & M unit set up in the very early stages to help plan the new organisation, as was done in the Ministry of National Insurance and has been recounted by H. V. Rhodes in his paper *Setting Up a New Government Department* (B.I.M., 1949. Pp. 48. 2s. 6d.).

In the last few years about 20 officers from nationalised industries have attended Treasury O & M training courses and in the past eighteen months fifteen have taken the R.I.P.A.'s Methods Officers' Course.

The following notes, kindly supplied by the officers in charge of the O & M units concerned, give some account of the roles which O & M units now fill, or are expected to fill, in the different industries, and indicate the type of work they undertake.

Most of the O & M units described are mainly concerned with problems of administrative organisation, office procedures (including forms control) and office machines. In British European Airways, however, the O & M unit has a work study group engaged on methods engineering problems and the application of mechanical handling and other special equipment. It will be interesting to see if the results achieved in this particular unit lead to a further development of the scope of work of O & M units in other nationalised industries. In some of them work of this nature is already carried on in other sections of the organisation.

British European Airways

The O & M Branch was formed in May, 1952, as part of the Finance Department, with the O & M Officer reporting to the Financial Controller. But early in 1953 the Branch was established as a separate unit and since then the O & M Officer has reported direct to the Chief Executive.

The Corporation's policy is that the O & M function should provide a staff service for management which can apply any of the analytical techniques of industrial engineering (using this term in the American sense) as may be required in the study of problems concerning organisation structure, administrative system, and the working methods used in the performance of both clerical and industrial tasks anywhere throughout the undertaking.

It is clearly laid down that the role of the Branch is purely advisory and

any manager requiring assistance in connection with a matter of organisation or method within his own sphere of responsibility should approach the O & M Officer direct. It is then up to the O & M Branch to undertake the required studies and make its recommendations to the manager from whom the request for assistance was received.

Reports are regarded as confidential between the O & M Branch and the manager concerned until they have been fully discussed. If it is then found that any of the recommendations made require consideration at higher level, or higher authority is necessary for their implementation, the normal practice is for the manager to submit the O & M report together with his comments up through his own line of administrative responsibility.

Higher management do not see detailed O & M reports unless some action is required on their part, in which case the report will be forwarded to them together with the comments of the executive directly responsible for the activity under study. Correspondingly, should it become necessary for higher management to order an O & M study of the work of a subordinate unit, no direct instructions are given to the O & M Branch, but the executive in charge of that unit is directed to approach the Branch himself for assistance. This procedure has been adopted because it is felt that only under these conditions is it possible to establish the essential co-operation between the O & M Branch and the rest of the organisation, and encourage a relationship of mutual trust and confidence between O & M staff and executives directly responsible for the detail of method and procedure.

With responsibility for initiating O & M studies delegated in this manner, it is, of course, necessary to provide a measure of control to ensure that the O & M service is being properly used. This is achieved through a quarterly progress report submitted to the Chief Executive by the O & M Officer, which merely lists assignments being undertaken by the O & M Branch, who requested them, and the progress made, including a reference to any reports issued and a brief description of the results achieved.

The O & M Branch itself is organised under the O & M Officer into three small groups—a systems development group which works mainly on problems concerning administrative procedure, paper work and clerical processes; an operational research group working on problems which require the application of statistical analysis techniques; and a work study group working on methods engineering problems and the application of mechanical handling and other special equipment. At the time of writing the staff of the Branch consists of the O & M Officer (an engineer), two mathematicians, two accountants and a secretary. There is also a post for another engineer which it is hoped will shortly be filled.

British Overseas Airways

B.O.A.C. does not have one central O & M Branch carrying out the generally accepted type of O & M assignment throughout the Corporation. The functions normally carried out by O & M sections are performed in B.O.A.C. as follows:

- (a) *Organisation and Establishments.* There is one small central branch

O & M IN THE NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES

responsible for maintaining the manpower establishments and the organisation manual of the whole Corporation. This Branch is responsible to the Chief Personnel Officer who in turn is responsible direct to the Chairman and is a member of the Management Panel.

All changes in manpower requirements or organisation, in respect of any part of the Corporation, have to be cleared through this Branch so that in effect it is the management's instrument for ensuring that all changes of this nature are fully discussed between all departments concerned and are consistent with the overall policy of the Corporation. Of necessity this work involves this Branch in all major organisational problems, but not to any great extent in detailed methods studies.

(b) *Methods.* The general policy is to delegate the responsibility for improvement of methods and procedures to the main departments of the Corporation, and these Departments have sections of their own which include this type of work in their function. In particular the Finance and Accounts Department, which is the only Department employing large numbers of staff on clerical work, maintains a central Methods Section which, in addition to carrying out procedure and methods studies in the Accounts Department, is available to carry out similar studies in other Departments when requested.

National Coal Board

The Board's O & M Branch forms part of the Staff Department and is attached to headquarters in London. Its services are available to headquarters, divisions, areas and collieries. The work, which is carried out on a consultative basis and as a service to management, includes organisation and staffing studies; the preparation of procedures necessary to the development of new projects; and office methods generally.

The extent of the Branch's activities beyond the Board's headquarters establishments has so far been on a limited scale consistent with the present staff resources. Even so, some valuable pioneer work has been done both at area and colliery levels; and it is the Board's policy, following on the recommendations of the Fleck Report, to develop fully their O & M Branch with the object of providing an effective service at each level of management extending from headquarters to colliery.

Central Electricity Authority

Early in 1949 the Central (then British) Electricity Authority took preliminary steps to introduce O & M within its headquarters on an experimental basis and, by 1953, a small but competent team had been formed.

The purpose of the O & M Unit, which now has a staff of about six, is to provide an advisory service based upon the agreed examination of units of organisation and their working methods and to assist responsible managers in obtaining the best possible utilisation of staff, equipment and accommodation. The service is at the disposal of the Authority and its major committees and is available to chief officers, heads of departments, and to the Controllers of the Generation Divisions.

The first main task of the O & M Unit has been to undertake a series of reviews of the organisation of the branches of its parent department, the

Secretary's Department. It has also completed reviews of the Authority's two educational and training establishments at Horsley Towers, Surrey, and Buxton.

Concurrently with these reviews the headquarters clerical and general services are being systematically examined. Up to the present time eleven detailed reports have been written upon the organisation and methods of eight headquarters branches or sections and on three headquarters services, including the Hollerith punched card section and the photographic and reproduction services. These reports contained 107 fully-developed recommendations for improving organisation and methods.

The O & M Unit is also responsible for examining requisitions for the supply of office machines and specialised equipment and for providing advice on such matters.

South Eastern Electricity Board

O & M commenced informally shortly after vesting day as a result of centralised control of forms. A formal O & M Unit was established in 1952 with the following terms of reference :

The section shall be responsible for examining and reporting (with recommendations, if necessary) upon all aspects of the organisation and methods used by the Board, and for these purposes it is empowered, among other matters, to :

(a) Undertake on assignment special investigations into particular phases of the Board's work on both functional and geographical bases.

(b) Keep under review the Board's organisation and report wherever it appears that something should be done to make and keep the organisation efficient, including where necessary the clarification of individual responsibility and authority.

(c) Design up-to-date and efficient procedures and office methods and suggest improvements in present procedures and methods or in their application.

(d) Review existing forms and, where necessary, design (or approve design of) new forms (printed or cyclostyled) in consultation with representative users, subject to the approval of the appropriate chief officer (forms include circular letters, etc., in regular use).

(e) Provide a source of up-to-date information on office methods and appliances, making available upon request such information relating to practice both outside the Board's organisation and to differing practices within the Board's organisation.

(f) Advise, where particularly requested, on applications for additional staff and on the most efficient disposition of employees.

Assignments have been undertaken in a variety of fields including surveying and building, stores, typing services, district organisation and printing. It is emphasised that the section is not confined to purely clerical

organisation and methods problems.

Reports are confidential to the officer requesting the assignment but reports on general assignments conducted for top management are rendered to the Secretary who deals with problems of implementation.

Eastern Electricity Board

The review of organisation and methods in the Eastern Electricity Board was started immediately after the Board commenced operations in 1948 and has continued ever since. In 1954, although much progress had been made in improving administrative efficiency by Chief Officers and Sub-Area Managers working in their respective spheres, the Board felt that, as there were limits to the time which these officers could spare for such work, the establishment of an O & M unit would help to maintain progress in this direction and even to accelerate its pace.

A formal O & M Section was therefore set up at the Board's headquarters. It operates on a non-departmental basis as an advisory service available for consultation by Chief Officers, Sub-Area Managers and District Managers on the various aspects of the Board's work, and to make recommendations to those officers for effecting improvements. The scope of the Section includes all aspects of organisation and methods, except technical engineering problems. The Section is headed by a senior officer at assistant chief officer level.

Since it was formed, the O & M Section has received many requests for its services and several major reviews have been undertaken at district and branch offices. Most of these have covered large sections of work (in one case almost the entire activity of a large branch office) and have included consumer records, clerical work associated with connecting and disconnecting premises to the supply mains, meter reading, work of sales staff and cashiers in service centres, stores records and location of stores, procedure associated with controlling and progressing capital construction works, wayleave records and many other matters.

Area Gas Boards

Over the last four years several methods studies have been carried out in the *South Eastern Gas Board's* Commercial Department. In the early part of 1954 an officer attended an R.I.P.A. Methods Officers' Course, and an O & M Service was then made generally available. The O & M Officer, who now has a senior assistant, is responsible to the Secretary and operates on a consultative basis. Implementation is a responsibility of the operating departments but O & M will assist if required. Six assignments have so far been completed and a number are in progress or awaiting attention.

In the *East Midlands Gas Board* there is one full-time O & M Officer who is directly responsible to the Secretary of the Board and operates on a consultative basis. The O & M Officer's services are available to any executive of the Board's headquarters and to the general managers of the four divisions. A register is maintained of the requests received. Assignments already undertaken have covered incentive payment schemes and job voucher systems; a major investigation into the method of stores and purchasing control is

being undertaken at present.

An O & M Section has been set up in the *Southern Gas Board* and has started an examination of the stores systems throughout the area. The Section is directly responsible to the Secretary and through him to the Management Committee of the Board. It is separate from any departmental structure. The service is advisory only.

London Transport Executive

An O & M Section has operated in London Transport for over 25 years. It has developed over the years from a small forms control unit in the former Underground Group of companies to the present-day unit of 21 staff comprising a forms control section and three teams concerned with methods and procedure. A small clerical section exists for general clerical duties, including drafting and installation work arising from reviews.

The Section acts in an advisory capacity to management, and is the responsibility of the Staff Administration Officer who, in respect of this work, reports in collaboration with the Chief Staff and Welfare Officer direct to the Deputy Chairman.

The duties of the methods and procedure sub-section comprise a continuous review of procedures and office methods. Investigations are undertaken on the instructions of the Chairman, Deputy Chairman or the Members of the Executive, or at the request of the Chief Staff and Welfare Officer or of other Chief Officers and Officers of the undertaking. Reports are normally made direct to the departmental head responsible for the work under investigation.

The type of work undertaken may be broadly classified as follows :

- (a) Further mechanisation of office methods and procedures.
- (b) Review of existing methods and procedures with the object of securing improvement and greater economy.
- (c) Preparation of revised procedures in connection with improved methods of working as a result of the reviews referred to under (b) above, or requested by departmental officers.
- (d) Investigations in connection with renewal, modification or displacement of existing office machinery and equipment.
- (e) Preparation of procedures and definition of office methods for new and projected activities.

In addition, the Section is normally invited to serve on *ad hoc* committees set up from time to time to investigate specific staffing problems and problems concerning services common to several or all departments.

The forms control section is responsible for the review of forms used within the undertaking. All forms to be printed require the prior approval of this section. Duplicated forms are reviewed from time to time by examining all those in use in one department at a particular time.

Staff for the O & M Section are recruited from within the organisation. Training of new recruits to the section is undertaken mainly "on the job" but as and when opportunities arise members of the section are sent on government and other suitable training courses.

The Negotiation of Wages and Conditions for Local Authority Employees in England and Wales

PART III-SOME RESULTS OF JOINT NEGOTIATION

By MRS. MARJORIE MCINTOSH

*This is the final article by Mrs. McIntosh, who is Tutor in
Social Studies, Bedford College, University of London.*

THE negotiating machinery which has been discussed in earlier articles was established to take the arbitrary element out of the fixing of terms and conditions of service for this group of public employees and to secure "fair" wages for all the many different categories of staff on the assumption that local authorities, while not taking the lead in determining standards, should be "in the first flight of good employers." As a consequence of this it was expected that the quality and efficiency of local government services would be improved because good-quality employees would be attracted and retained. Indeed for non-manual workers the possession of agreed qualifications was made a condition of engagement and promotion. It is now proposed to examine the extent to which these purposes have been achieved and to consider two other fields in which "Whitleyism" has had important consequences, namely the development of trade unionism and labour/management relations.

Development of Trade Unionism

Because there can be no negotiation without representation, trade union organisation has been stimulated, especially amongst non-manual workers. The National and Local Government Officers' Association (N.A.L.G.O.) has doubled its membership in ten years, and amongst its 230,000 members are included 90 per cent. of all local government officers. Many professional organisations which were formerly concerned primarily with questions of status and professional standards, have become actively concerned with the negotiation of remuneration and conditions of service. On the General Whitley Council for the Health Services and several functional councils, representatives of professional organisations directly participate in negotiation. Town and district council clerks have their own negotiating committee and the Society of Town Clerks has recently registered as a trade union to enable it to secure, through the Industrial Disputes Tribunal, the enforcement of recognised terms for its members. Other organisations, including the Society of Public Analysts, encourage their members to join N.A.L.G.O. and have agreed to the union's representatives serving on the staff side of their joint negotiating committees in order to secure the same result. A number of other groups, including the Incorporated Association of Architects and Surveyors, have set up separate organisations to carry out trade union functions, especially where their charter or constitution does not enable them to carry out such

functions themselves. The Royal Institute of British Architects took a ballot of its members to find out whether they wished to adopt the same policy. But though professional organisations are now fully aware of the importance of trade union activities, they often cannot directly negotiate on behalf of their members. Once the representation on the employee side of a council has been settled it is virtually impossible for any other organisation to secure membership unless the existing members agree. This agreement is rarely obtained because of its possible effect on the power and prestige of the organisations already represented and also because of their hostility to craft unionism. It is also feared that fragmentation of membership will make negotiations difficult and protracted. The National Association of Schoolmasters has repeatedly failed to get representation on the Teachers' Panel of the Burnham Committee. Other organisations have unsuccessfully tried to get representation on the National Joint Council for Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Services (A.P.T.C.). N.A.L.G.O., however, has a joint consultative committee with representatives of such organisations to discuss their interests in matters coming before the N.J.C.

Not only have existing professional organisations taken on new functions, but the professionalisation of groups of workers who lay claim to special skills has been directly encouraged as a means of improving status and the claim for treatment as a special class with national gradings.

Though joint negotiation has stimulated trade union development, it has brought some difficulties for trade union organisers. Because wages and conditions are settled nationally by top-level negotiations in which few persons participate, wage increases come to the rank and file without personal effort. It may therefore be difficult to sustain interest in trade union membership beyond the payment of weekly dues. This situation makes especially important the link between employee, local trade union organiser and local authority for it is at the local level that national decisions impinge upon the individual. It is in efforts to secure the most advantageous terms possible, or the alleviation of imagined injustices, that the worker appreciates the protective role of the trade union. It is also in the informal contacts between trade union and local authority that many little problems get solved which might otherwise become time-consuming issues at a higher level.

Development of the Establishment Function

The development of "Whitleyism" has had considerable influence on the management function of individual local authorities and has increased the importance of labour/management relations. It might, at first sight, seem that the transfer of responsibility for making decisions from local to national bodies might diminish the importance of this function of individual authorities. Indeed they complain that they are no longer masters in their own house and, as we shall see later, some authorities find the inflexibility of national schemes a handicap to them in staffing their services. Yet in a number of ways establishment work has become more important. It has become a specialised job. Much time has now to be spent by officers and members in serving on Provincial and National Councils and their committees. Officers themselves and the members they must brief take part in discussions not only on the councils but also with the local authority

associations and the Conditions of Service Advisory Board, for the implications of decisions may be so far-reaching that they must be based on the fullest information available.

It is also with local authorities that the important job of grading the majority of posts and of agreeing "plus rates" rests though, even here, they are subject to the rights of appeal to Provincial Councils which employees possess under the constitution of the negotiating bodies. For the individual employee the grading of his post is of paramount importance. Many are dissatisfied not so much with the salary scales themselves as with their application. It is probable that a good many N.A.L.G.O. members share the view of the Higher Clerical Officer reported in *Public Service*, October, 1954, that "the employers' approach to grading is invariably not the grade for the job but the lowest grade at which they think they can get the job done, irrespective of how badly it may be done in consequence." If there is to be a reasonably contented labour force and if time and good will are not to be dissipated in dealing with appeals, it is essential that grading shall be based on principles which are understood and accepted. The use of job evaluation techniques, the periodic review of the organisation and methods of work of departments have become important tools, not only to secure greater efficiency, but to ensure the acceptance of reasonable levels of salary both by employers and employees. In this connection the experience of Ealing Borough Council is of interest. Two years ago the staff asked for a review of gradings because they were too low. Instead the Council asked a consultant to review the departmental organisation and to consider the salaries or salary grades of all posts with "due regard to economy." The consultant reported that the administrative organisation was very good, but that the Corporation's salary gradings were generally low. He recommended upgrading for a substantial number of officers.

As national agreements usually provide for local differences about pay and service conditions to be referred to appeal committees, much skill is required from officers in their day-to-day dealings with trade union representatives. It is obviously desirable that appeals shall be avoided, yet concessions cannot be made if they will create precedents which may be used outside their immediate context. Since agreements, though intended to be uniformly applied, are not in themselves legally binding, they can be adapted to meet special circumstances. The exercise of this discretion may well avoid small dissatisfactions or even the loss of labour.

It is probable too that the existence of national standard rates is leading authorities who have difficulty in recruiting certain types of labour to experiment with incentives other than an increase in wages. A number of authorities are developing incentive and bonus schemes for workers in departments such as salvage and transport. Birmingham reports that by introducing a training scheme it has largely solved its difficulties in recruiting junior shorthand typists. The same authority has also partly eased its shortage of clerical juniors by permitting them day-time release to attend a day continuation college.

The effects of joint negotiation on wages and salaries need to be considered from two aspects—first the effects on standardisation and second those on size of earnings.

The Standardisation of Salaries and Wages

One of the main factors determining the development of Whitley machinery has been the urge to secure geographical equality—the payment of the same rate for what is considered to be the same job, irrespective of the area in which it is being done. So successful has this drive for geographical justice been that most local government employees are now covered by national agreements which provide standard rates and conditions of service which local authorities throughout the country are expected to apply. These national agreements, as has already been pointed out in the previous articles, make some provision for the wide difference in population, financial resources and responsibilities of authorities by providing some differentiation in salary scales based on zoning (manual workers), population groups (chief officers and town and district council clerks) and grades (A.P.T.C.). Subject to these groupings, however, authorities are expected to adhere to the approved standard rates irrespective of their resources or the employment position in their area. If they should wish to pay more, they may find themselves in difficulties not only with the employers' side of negotiating bodies, but also with the district auditor and the grant-paying Ministries. Local authorities have power, under Section 106 (4) of the Local Government Act, 1933, to pay officers "such reasonable remuneration as they may determine." The right to decide what is reasonable has now been voluntarily transferred to joint councils. But though they can, under the Industrial Disputes Order, 1951, be compelled to pay not less than negotiated rates, it seems clear that they would not necessarily be acting illegally if they paid more. A local authority whose accounts are subject to district audit, however, might find that the auditor would disallow expenditure in excess of national rates if he considered it to be unreasonable in the circumstances.¹ Yet, as the Town Clerk of Birmingham informed his Council, "if there were good and sufficient grounds for paying amounts reasonably in excess (of negotiated rates) then the Corporation would be exercising a proper discretion and the payments would not be illegal."² But though the district auditor might not disallow excess expenditure he might conceivably refuse to certify it for grant purposes. The Minister concerned, with whom the ultimate responsibility rests, might also refuse to admit such payments for grant purposes though he can admit them if he is satisfied that they are essential for the maintenance of the local services.³ Birmingham Corporation is having to meet entirely out of the rates payments under its Improved Service Pay Schemes in departments subject to district audit, as they have been disallowed for grant purposes because they are in excess of national "standard" rates of pay.⁴

Local authorities are thus very limited in the performance of the normal economic function of increasing wages to attract labour which is in short supply. This is the case both in particular occupational groups such as Sanitary Inspectors and in geographical areas such as the Midlands and Greater London, and there is much evidence of difficulties which are arising from attempting to maintain standard rates in one field of employment in a dynamic economy with near full employment and free movement of labour. In the large urban areas there is a considerable shortage of manual, clerical and technical staffs. There are not enough applicants with the necessary

qualifications and labour turnover is high. During a recent period of six months Middlesex County Council lost 20 per cent. of its establishment of typists, clerks and machine operators. In 1954 the Birmingham City Corporation lost 72 per cent. of its manual staff in its Welfare Department and 50 per cent. in its Transport and Education Departments. The Chief Constables of Manchester and of Salford in their recent annual reports referred to the steady fall in the strength of their forces due largely to the attractions of higher pay and seemingly better working conditions in industry. Manchester's Chief Fire Officer comments on the growing tendency for men in city brigades to seek transfer to county brigades "where the conditions of employment are more amenable and the incidence and risk from fire-fighting less." Yet the problem, though acute in some urban areas, is not a uniform one. The National Industrial Officer of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, speaking at the 1955 Union Congress about the disparity of earnings between manual workers in public service undertakings and those in industry, admitted that "the degree of difference in earnings . . . varies considerably from one area to another. It also varies considerably between industrial and rural areas. There are probably delegates here today who come from areas where a job in the public services is still a good thing to have and still much sought after. . . ." The Secretary of the Local Government Examinations Board was reported in the August, 1954, issue of *Public Service*, the journal of N.A.L.G.O., as saying: "I have just completed a tour of the country. . . . We found that the situation varied greatly between one area and authority and another. Some can get all the recruits they need of the right standard—but others cannot get recruits for love or money."

This situation has led to criticisms of the lack of flexibility in the system and to a variety of attempts to remedy it. Some individual local authorities have combined with the trade unions to secure from unwilling employers' sides of negotiating bodies permission to pay rates above the standard. In two cases⁵ the machinery of the Industrial Disputes Tribunal has been used to break deadlocks and the Tribunal has been a party to the sidetracking of agreements on economic grounds. In 1954, Birmingham City Council felt compelled to pay wages above the negotiated rates to its transport employees and was expelled from membership of the N.J.C. for the Road Passenger Transport Industry. At the present time this Council, concerned with the difficulty of recruiting all categories of staff and with its heavy labour turnover, is endeavouring to secure some modification of the policy of "standard" rates. To meet some of the difficulties some negotiating bodies have found it necessary to agree to a modification of this policy. Provincial and national sub-committees have been set up to hear applications from local authorities to pay excess rates. There is a steady flow of small-scale demands from many authorities and in addition more substantial departures have been authorised from time to time for the manual, shorthand typist, general and clerical employees of some urban authorities. Each case has to be discussed and agreed in the light of current circumstances. This procedure has eased the position, but it is slow, cumbersome and too particularised to be wholly satisfactory. For one class of officer, the Sanitary Inspector, scales were negotiated in 1953 and 1954 which provided for higher

rates of pay for those employed by the Metropolitan Boroughs, Birmingham and Manchester. In 1955, at the instigation of the Industrial Disputes Tribunal, agreement was reached to pay, subject to Provincial and National Council approval, £60 a year more to Inspectors in industrial areas where the duties are more onerous.

The trade union answer to the problem is to claim wage increases for everyone with a consequent all-round increase in costs, even though the shortage may be local. This may cause a sharp cleavage of interest between local authorities which leads to difficulty in reaching agreement. Wage gains in these circumstances tend to be too small to meet the needs of areas with labour shortages and may be larger than necessary to staff other areas.

There is no doubt that standardisation of pay and conditions of service has improved the conditions of the majority of local government employees and is considered to be one of the main achievements of Whitleyism. Any departure from it as a policy would be opposed. Indeed it is the policy of many of the trade unions to increase uniformity by reducing still further the number of zones and grades. Local authorities too welcome a substantial amount of standardisation because they think it facilitates the even distribution of labour among employers, all of whom must provide services though their financial resources differ. Yet it would seem, in present circumstances, well worth serious consideration whether national minimum, instead of standard, rates would not enable the gains to be retained while permitting authorities more flexibility in meeting their differing labour problems.

Trend of Earnings

The first national agreements of negotiating bodies brought increases in earnings for the majority of those affected though the extent of the gain varied between districts and between authorities. It was expected that joint negotiation would ensure the maintenance of these agreed standards and make it more probable that local authority employees would secure a share of any future increase in the size of the national income. Since these first agreements were made, however, there have been changes in the general economic situation. There has been a rise in cost of living of 50 per cent. (the Ministry of Labour retail price index, June, 1955) since 1947; a change in the relative economic position of manual and clerical workers⁶ and a reduction in the size of the differentials for skilled and responsible work (at least in those employments where the salaries of higher paid staff are made public), and full employment. This full employment has led not only to an increase in individual wage rates but to an even greater increase in earnings due to overtime at special rates and bonus and incentive payments. In October, 1954, wage rates in the principal industries, including local government, were 45 per cent. above 1947, average weekly earnings were up by 66 per cent.⁷ By June, 1955, the Ministry's index of rates of wages showed an increase of 52 per cent. over 1947. These developments have subjected the negotiating machinery to strains it was never expected that it would have to stand. They have led to criticisms both from local authorities and from employees; on the grounds that the negotiating machinery has become a mechanism for increasing the size of the wages bill, or that joint negotiation has not maintained real levels of remuneration.

Manual Workers

For manual workers joint negotiation has produced wage increases which roughly correspond to increases in the cost of living. The real problem is the disparity in earnings between the local government and the industrial worker. Even at the price of long hours, overtime is welcomed by many for the proportionately big extra earnings it brings, and employers report that the first question an applicant for a job asks is whether there is any overtime. In the local government services overtime is not normally worked⁸, though shortages of labour have made it essential in some parts of the country especially in services such as fire, refuse collection and road passenger transport. Further, though no complete information is available on this point, only a few local authorities have introduced bonus and incentive schemes and only a relatively small proportion of manual workers benefit from the payment of those negotiated additions to the standard rates known as "plus" rates. In Birmingham in 1954 out of a total manual staff of over 21,000 only 2,000 were receiving "plus" rates. At the present time, therefore, standard rates determine the amount of the wage packet of the local government employee. This situation is leading to an examination of ways of compensating for the absence of additional earnings, other than a general increase in wage rates. The National Joint Council for Manual Workers is examining the question of encouraging bonus and incentive schemes within negotiated agreements and some authorities are increasing the attractiveness of service by including manual workers in superannuation schemes.

A.P.T. and Clerical

The first national scheme of conditions of service for administrative, professional, technical and clerical employees of local government came into force in 1946. Addressing the annual conference in 1955, the President of N.A.L.G.O. said: "For the first time, it gave to all local government officers remuneration that was reasonably fair though by no means generous. Those scales set the standard which both we and our employers thought right and just." The scheme was designed to secure not only an improvement in the financial status of the local government officer but also in the standards of the local government service through its conditions for recruitment and promotion. Perhaps somewhat over-exuberantly *Local Government Service*, as the journal of N.A.L.G.O. was then entitled, expressed the view in 1946 that "it is not too much to claim that the local government service will in future be one of the most highly qualified and rigorously sifted vocations in the country bearing comparison only with such vocations as medicine and law." Since 1946 the staff side have sought to secure increases in salaries which would compensate for increases in the cost of living. Five increases have been obtained, three by agreement and two by arbitration, but in each case they have fallen short of the claims of the staff side, and in particular the decisions of the Industrial Disputes Tribunal in 1948 and 1952 have been held to have established the appropriate remuneration of officers at that time irrespective of the cost of living, and to form the base line from which future changes in remuneration in the light of changes in the cost of living should be made. Further, they have been flat rate increases, not percentage ones, and have, therefore, reduced the differential advantages of

more responsible posts. During this period, however, other improvements have been secured, such as a reduction in the number of grades and the age at which the maximum salary is reached in the General Division. Members of N.A.L.G.O. consider that it is only "just and fair" that they should be paid salaries which will buy as much today as when they were fixed in 1946. They are dissatisfied with the results of joint negotiation because their standard of living has not been maintained.

The national conditions of service of 1946 dealt not only with pay but also with the means of encouraging a qualified and educated service. Entry was normally to be restricted to those over 16 who were to be selected by examination and interview, and expected to reach a standard equivalent to passes in four approved subjects at ordinary level. Promotion out of the General Division and into the A.P.T. Grades was to depend on the passing of approved examinations and a Local Government Examinations Board was established to devise and manage these examinations. In this way it was expected that good quality recruits, attracted by the opportunities provided for proved capacity, would be secured. In fact full employment, fewer school leavers and increased opportunities for higher education have made it difficult for local authorities, especially in the big industrial centres, to recruit and retain both junior and more qualified staff at the agreed salary scales. Many authorities have been compelled to ignore the promotion examination because they have not got on their staff, or cannot obtain, suitably qualified people, and the National Council itself has agreed to postpone the introduction of a compulsory examination for junior entrants and to the lowering of the age of entry to 15 to permit the recruitment of those without qualification in the General Certificate in Education. Even among those who have taken the examination many have failed to reach the expected standard. The examiners have criticised the quality of the work in the promotion examinations on each occasion.

It seems, therefore, that the original expectation that the "Charter" of 1946 would enable better educational standards to be achieved in the service has not been realised. Indeed anxiety is being expressed that unless pay is improved the quality of the service will even deteriorate. Rates of pay are not the only consideration, however, for promotion prospects are one of the important attractions of any particular employment. In the local government service approximately 60 per cent. of the posts are in the General and lower range of the A.P.T. 1 Grades. Promotion to the better-paid posts must therefore be slow and limited. An enquiry might reveal either that responsible work is required to be done by unduly low grades or that routine work could be mechanised or rearranged so as to reduce the need for lower paid gradings.

It is still generally accepted that the local authorities should not be leaders, but followers of the policy and practices of other good employers. Local government wage policy, therefore, displays most of the characteristics of wage policy in general.⁹ Such policy is largely based on arguments which are social and ethical rather than economic. It is assumed that increases in the cost of living require corresponding increases in wages and that it is "right" and "just" that standards of living secured at some earlier date should be maintained. Arbitration tribunals are sometimes criticised on the grounds that they do not give "impartial" decisions, as though

points of law, not economic bargains, were involved.

It is an interesting feature of local government negotiations that the existing occupational status structure is accepted without question or justification both by employers and employees. It is assumed that certain occupations should carry with them certain standards of life and it is considered to be a serious criticism of salary scales that, with the current value of money, they do not enable such standards to be maintained. It is also frequently argued that salary scales must be adequate to maintain the status of a particular profession. The J.N.C. for Public Analysts in announcing in December, 1952, its decision on the salaries of senior officers, commented that the two sides "are of the opinion that salaries should reflect the *proper* (italics are mine) status today of professions demanding high standards and qualifications and long training."

It is taken for granted that, in order to ensure the supply of qualified persons and to compensate for training, more must be paid for posts of responsibility or for those requiring qualifications which take time and money to acquire. It is never considered necessary to explain, however, how the responsibility involved in different posts is measured nor how the monetary value of different degrees of responsibility is determined. Neither is it made clear why it is necessary to compensate for training, the costs of which are now so often met directly or indirectly out of public funds. It is an indication of the highly conventional concepts of the appropriate standard of living which lie behind the differentials paid that when concern is expressed at the difficulty of finding employment for newly-qualified doctors, the remedy is considered to be not reduction in reward but restriction of supply. So widely are differentials accepted that the *Local Government Chronicle's* regular correspondent, commenting¹⁰ on current discussions of wage structure, records that it is generally accepted that differentials should be maintained, and adds his personal view that "if the differential structure has been materially disturbed there is *just* (the italics are mine) cause for reconsidering the present situation." Justice has thus come to mean maintenance of the *status quo*, and powerful conservative forces are making it difficult to use financial incentives to overcome shortages or maldistribution of labour. In these circumstances, and in full employment, wage increases are more likely to contribute to the inflationary spiral than to attract labour to undermanned services.

In local government there are also special factors influencing wage policy. Local authorities and their employees are divided into many sectional groups in their associations, trade unions and professional organisations, and negotiate through a large number of separate bodies. But it is unrealistic to assume that organisational rationalisation could be easily achieved or would result in greater uniformity. Behind these divisions lie the much more deeply rooted problems of caste and status both within and between the groups of manual and non-manual workers. The busman considers himself superior to the street sweeper; the black-coated worker to the manual worker, and those who give orders to those who carry them out. This is reflected in the differences in remuneration and conditions of service. Organisational fragmentation is cherished as a means of maintaining them.

The local government service is affected also by the prevailing attitude towards bureaucracy. Opinion polls have on a number of occasions¹¹ revealed

the view of the general public, which is undoubtedly shared by some local government employers, that civil servants (and local government officers would undoubtedly be included with them) are overpaid for what they do.

Finally, in local government the employers are bodies of laymen with widely differing skills, competence and experience. They have officers with specialist knowledge to advise them, but they must take the responsibility for the decisions made and may have to account for them to the electorate. Many of them may have smaller earnings and different social backgrounds from the officers they employ, and may consciously or unconsciously distrust the advice given them. They may also feel that it is the mark of independence of mind to oppose officers' recommendations. Moreover, however well intentioned and co-operative both may try to be, the working relationship between elected representatives and officers is bound to present problems. In establishment work there is the added difficulty that the subject matter is a highly complex one and that few members can be expected to have the time or experience to make objective assessments of the market value or the relative responsibility of particular jobs. This makes it particularly important that the associations of local authorities and local government officers in individual authorities should endeavour to explain to elected representatives not only their own local problems but their relationship to national conditions and the functioning of joint negotiating machinery. Behind the bad decision often lies some lack of knowledge or failure in understanding.

Note : It has been pointed out that the statement in Part I of this study (on page 157, paragraph 2, of the Summer issue) about the composition of employees' sides of national negotiating bodies may be misleading because it does not make clear the extent to which union policy in the selection of representatives varies. For example, the manual workers' unions appoint only full-time officers to national councils whilst N.A.L.G.O. uses unpaid lay members assisted by a small number of full-time officers.

¹*Roberts v. Hopwood & others*, 1925; and *Lewis & others v. Walker*, 1944.

²Report of the Establishment Committee to the City Council, June, 1954.

³*First Report of the Local Government Manpower Committee*, 1950, Cmd. 7870. "Report of Sub-Committee on Grant Claims, etc."

⁴Report of the Establishment Committee of the City Council, June, 1954.

⁵I.D.T. Award 18: the Trade Unions with the support of Coventry City Council secured recognition of 10s. above standard rates for manual workers. I.D.T. Award 536: the Trade Unions with the support of Romford Borough Council secured London rates instead of Zone A rates for manual workers.

⁶See *Clerical Salaries Analysis*, 1954, Office Management Association. "The old differential between the clerk's salary and the manual worker's wages has quite disappeared—undercut by universal education and submerged by full employment" (p. 14).

⁷*Ministry of Labour Gazette*, March, 1955, "Report of Enquiry into Earnings and Hours, October, 1954."

⁸"Report of Enquiry into Earnings and Hours, October, 1954," *op cit.* Local government manual workers averaged 45.4 hours per week compared with an average of 48.5 for all workers covered by the enquiry.

⁹*The Social Foundations of Wage Policy*, by Barbara Wootton.

¹⁰*Local Government Chronicle*, 5th June, 1954.

¹¹*News Chronicle*, 6th September, 1955.

NEGOTIATING BODIES FOR EMPLOYEES OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES

A. Negotiating Bodies, Voluntarily Established, whose Decisions are issued as Recommendations to Employing Bodies

(i) Those which are exclusively for Local Authorities and their Employees

Name of Body ¹	Scope	Employers' Side ²	Employees' Side
N.J.C. for Local Authorities Services (Manual) Workers (1919). ³	All manual workers except those covered by other recognised joint negotiating machinery.	A.M.C. 2 C.C.A. 2 U.D.C.A. 2 R.D.C.A. 1 L.C.C. 1 Provincial Councils (Employers) 23 N.J.C. for C.C. Roadmen (Employers) 2	National Union of General and Municipal Workers 7 National Union of Public Employees 3 Transport and General Workers' Union 6
N.J.C. for County Council Roadmen (1941). ⁴	All workmen employed wholly on or in connection with county roads except those employed and paid by the Borough or U.D.C. in whose area the roads are situated.	C.C.A. 6 N.J.C. (Manual Workers) 4 Regional Councils (Employers) 11	National Union of General and Municipal Workers 4 National Union of Public Employees 4 Transport and General Workers' Union 4 National Union of Agricultural Workers 2
J.N.C. for Building and Civil Engineering (1951).	Craftsmen engaged in local authority building and civil engineering employment, except craftsmen covered by N.J.C. for C.C. Roadmen and labourers not covered by the N.J.C. (Manual Workers) or the N.J.C. for C.C. Roadmen.	A.M.C. 2 C.C.A. 2 U.D.C.A. 2 R.D.C.A. 1 L.C.C. 1 N.J.C. (Manual Workers) (Employers) 4	National Federation of Building Trades Operatives 9
J.N.C. for Engineering Craftsmen (1951).	Craftsmen in local authority employment except those in passenger transport, waterworks or C.C. highway employment.	A.M.C. 2 C.C.A. 2 U.D.C.A. 2 R.D.C.A. 1 L.C.C. 1 N.J.C. (Manual Workers) (Employers) 4	Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions 12
N.J.C. for the Road Passenger Transport Industry (1937). ⁵	Drivers, conductors, and certain classes of maintenance workers in the municipal passenger transport service.	Local authorities operating road passenger services who are members of the Municipal Passenger Transport Association ⁶ 17	Transport and General Workers' Union 10 National Union of General and Municipal Workers 7

¹The date within brackets in the first column is the year the body was established unless otherwise stated.

²The following abbreviations are used :

N.J.C.	National Joint Council.
J.N.C.	Joint National Council.
A.M.C.	Association of Municipal Corporations.
C.C.A.	County Councils Association.
U.D.C.A.	Urban District Councils Association.
R.D.C.A.	Rural District Councils Association.
M.B.S.J.C.	Metropolitan Boroughs Standing Joint Committee.
A.E.C.	Association of Education Committees.
L.C.C.	London County Council.

³There are 16 provincial councils.

⁴There are 11 regional councils.

⁵The supervisory grades of employees are dealt with by the N.J.C. for A.P.T.C. Services (next below which has a special transport advisory committee).

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Appendix (continued)

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
J.N.C. for Local Authorities Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Services. First meeting of new council under revised constitution (1944). ⁶	All administrative, etc., staff except: (a) Clerks to all authorities and Deputy Clerks to County Councils; (b) Treasurers, Surveyors, Education Officers and Architects who are chief officers; and (c) all officers whose salaries exceed £1,000 a year.	A.M.C. 6 C.C.A. 5 U.D.C.A. 2 M.B.S.J.C. 1 R.D.C.A. 1 Provincial Councils (Employers' sides) 16	N.A.L.G.O. 8 National Union of General and Municipal Workers 3 Transport and General Workers' Union 1 Confederation of Health Service employees 1 National Union of Public Employees 2 Provincial Councils (Employees' sides) 15
J.N.C. for Chief Officers (1948).	Accountants and Treasurers; Engineers and Surveyors, Chief Education Officers and Architects. All other officers, except Clerks, whose salaries exceed £1,000 a year.	C.C.A. 4 A.M.C. 4 U.D.C.A. 2 R.D.C.A. 2 M.B.S.J.C. 1 A.E.C. 2	N.A.L.G.O. 2 Institution of Local Government Engineers and Surveyors 3 Association of Education Officers 2 County Architects and City and Borough Architects Societies 2 Deputy Clerks of Boroughs and County District Councils 1 Association of Local Government Officers 3
J.N.C. for Town Clerks and District Council Clerks (1949). ⁷	All Town Clerks and Clerks to Urban and Rural District Councils.	A.M.C. 3 U.D.C.A. 3 R.D.C.A. 3 M.B.S.J.C. 1	Society of Town Clerks 3 Society of Clerks of U.D.C.s 3 Local Government Clerks Association 3
J.N.C. for Public Analysts (1950).	Full-time analysts whose salaries exceed £1,000 and part-time analysts on a fee basis.	C.C.A. 3 A.M.C. 3 U.D.C.A. 1 M.B.S.J.C. 1	Society of Public Analysts ⁸ 4

(ii) Negotiating Bodies on which Representation is shared by Local Authorities with Other Bodies

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
J.N.C. for Justices Clerks (1952). ⁹	Whole-time and part-time Justices Clerks.	C.C.A. 4 A.M.C. 3 Magistrates Committees 7	Justices Clerks Society 9
J.N.C. for Justices Clerks Assistants (1954).	Whole-time Justices Clerks Assistants.	A.M.C. 3 C.C.A. 3 Magistrates Committees 7	Association of Justices Clerks Assistants 9
J.N.C. for Approved Schools and Remand Homes (1952).	Heads of approved schools and superintendents of remand homes and their deputies, teachers and instructors.	C.C.A. 3 A.M.C. 3 L.C.C. 1 Association of Managers of Approved Schools 5	National Union of Teachers 6 Association of Headmasters, Headmistresses and Matrons of Approved Schools 3 National Association of Approved Schools Staffs 3 National Association of Remand Home Superintendents and Matrons 2

⁶There are 15 provincial councils.

⁷Clerks of the Peace and of County Councils are not included. Their salaries are subject to ministerial approval and are settled by *ad hoc* discussions. Two representatives from the C.C.A. (without voting rights) attend to secure a liaison in any negotiations between the C.C.A. and the County Clerks.

⁸The Society of Public Analysts has proposed that the constitution should be amended to permit N.A.L.G.O. representatives to serve on the Employees' Side.

⁹Local authorities are the money-providing, not the employing, bodies.

Appendix (continued)

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
Standing Joint Advisory Committee for Staffs of Children's Homes (1952) ¹⁰	Administrative and supervisory staffs (other than teachers and nurses) employed in children's homes, remand homes, approved schools and approved probation homes and hostels.	Employers' side of N.J.C. for A.P.T.C. Services 6 Organisations representing voluntary management committees. 6	Employees' side of N.J.C. for A.P.T.C. Services 5 Other organisations 14
N.J.C. for the Waterworks Industry (1919 as amended 1949) ¹¹	Employees in waterworks undertakings except engineers who are chief officers.	British Waterworks Association 12 Water Companies Association 4 Employers' sides of District Councils 16	National Union of Waterworks Employees 2 National Union of General and Municipal Workers 6 Transport and General Workers' Union 2 National Union of Public Employees 1 National Union of Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics and Electrical Workers 1
I.N.C. for Water Engineers' salaries (1949) ¹²	Water engineers who are full-time chief officers of water undertakings, whether of local authorities or other statutory undertakers.	Local authorities nominated by the British Waterworks Association, A.M.C., U.D.C.A., R.D.C.A. 10 Water Boards 5 Water Companies 5	Institution of Water Engineers 16 N.A.L.G.O. 4

B. Negotiating Bodies which advise a Minister of State who has Power to make Regulations determining Remuneration

(i) Those which are exclusively for Local Authorities and their Employees

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
N.J.C. for Chief Fire Officers of Local Authorities (1949).	Chief officers of fire brigades in Great Britain maintained under Fire Service Act, 1947.	C.C.A. 4 A.M.C. 4 L.C.C. 3 Scottish local government associations 4	Chief Fire Officers Association 12
N.J.C. for Local Authorities Fire Brigades in Great Britain. (Present constitution 1952) ¹³	All members of fire brigades except chief officers.	C.C.A. 6 A.M.C. 6 L.C.C. 4 Scottish local government associations 7	National Association of Fire Officers 10 Fire Brigades Union 22 National Union of General and Municipal Workers 1
Burnham Main Committee (1919, reconstituted 1944) ¹⁴	Teachers in primary and secondary schools maintained by local education authorities.	C.C.A. 9 A.M.C. 6 A.E.C. 6 L.C.C. 3 Welsh J.E.C. 2	National Union of Teachers 16 Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions 4 Association of Assistant Masters 2 Association of Assistant Mistresses 2 Association of Headmasters 1 Association of Headmistresses 1

¹⁰This committee was appointed to advise on remuneration and conditions of service of the employees covered.

¹¹Local authorities who operate waterworks undertakings are members of the British Waterworks Association.

¹²Nothing in the scheme of salaries can compel a local authority to pay a chief officer of its water department a salary which is out of balance with the salary scale applicable to the engineer and surveyor of that local authority.

¹³There is a separate panel for dealing with salaries of officers.

¹⁴Reconstituted after Education Act, 1944, under Section 89. Deals only with remuneration.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Appendix (continued)

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
Burnham Technical Committee (1921, reconstituted 1944).	Teachers in technical (including art and commercial) colleges and schools.	C.C.A. 4 A.M.C. 3 A.E.C. 3 L.C.C. 2 Welsh J.E.C. 1	A.T.T.I. 6 Association of Principals in Technical Institutions 2 National Society for Art Education 2 National Federation of Continuative Teachers 1 N.U.T. 2
Farm Institutes Committee (1946).	Teaching staff of farm institutes and teachers of agricultural subjects on the staffs of local education authorities.	C.C.A. 3 A.E.C. 2 Welsh J.E.C. 1 Authorities Panel of Burnham Committee 2	Association of Agricultural Education Staffs 6 Teachers Panel of Burnham Technical Committee 2
Negotiating Committee for Inspectors and Organisers (1946). ¹⁵	Certain classes of local education authorities' employees who are not teachers, e.g., educational psychologists, inspectors, school meals organisers.	C.C.A. 2 A.M.C. 2 A.E.C. 2 Welsh J.E.C. 1 Authorities Panel of Burnham Committees 2	N.U.T. 4 Association of Inspectors and Organisers 4 Association of Organisers of Physical Education 2 British Psychological Society 2 National Association of Local Education Authorities' Youth Service Officers 1 Institutional Management Association 1 Teachers Panel of Burnham Main Committee 2

(ii) Negotiating Bodies on which Representation is shared by Local Authorities with Other Organisations

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
Negotiating Committee for Training College Staffs (1945). ¹⁶	Teaching staff of training colleges recognised for the purposes of the Training of Teachers Grant Regulations.	C.C.A. 2 A.M.C. 2 A.E.C. 2 L.C.C. 2 Welsh J.E.C. 1 Council for the Church Training Colleges 3 Methodist Education Committee 2 Catholic Education Council 2 British and Foreign School Society 2 Authorities Panel of Burnham Committee 2	Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education 12
The Police Council of Great Britain (1953).	Matters affecting the general conditions of service of members of the police forces in Great Britain.	Home Office 5 Scottish Home Department 1 C.C.A. 7 A.M.C. 7 Scottish local authority associations 6	Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis 1 Other Chief Officers and ranks above Chief Superintendent 5 Superintendents and Chief Superintendents 5 Inspectors and Chief Inspectors 5 Sergeants 5 Constables 5 Women police in ranks from Chief Inspector to Constable 1

¹⁵Closely associated with the statutory Burnham Committees, but the employees are not within the ambit of Section 89 of the Education Act, 1944. Recommendations are not embodied in regulations.

Appendix (continued)

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
Panels A, B and C.	Ranks above Chief Superintendent; Chief Superintendents and Superintendents; and other ranks respectively.		
J.N.C. for Probation Officers (1950). ¹⁶	Probation officers.	A.M.C. 4 C.C.A. 4 Magistrates Association 3 Home Office 2	National Association of Probation Officers 8
Whitley Councils for the Health Services. General Council. ¹⁷	Persons within the National Health Service Act, 1946, and the N.H.S. (Scotland) Act, 1946, and persons in the service of local authorities engaged in analogous employment, except clerical and administrative workers employed by local health authorities.	Ministry of Health 6 Department of Health for Scotland 2 Regional Hospital Boards 4 Boards of Governors 2 Executive Councils 3 C.C.A. 3 A.M.C. 3 L.C.C. 2 Scottish local authority associations 3	Members appointed by the staff sides of the nine functional councils.
Functional Council—Medical. ¹⁸	Medical practitioners within the National Health Service Act, 1946, and those employed by or in contract with local authorities outside the Act.	Ministry of Health 6 Department of Health for Scotland 2 Regional Hospital Boards 4 Boards of Governors 2 C.C.A. 1 A.M.C. 1 L.C.C. 1 Scottish local authority associations 1	Joint Committee of the Royal Colleges, Royal Scottish Corporations and the Central Consultants and Specialists Committee 7 General Medical Services Committee 7 Public Health Committee of the British Medical Association.
Medical Council—Standing Committee C. ¹⁹	Medical practitioners employed by or in contract with local authorities.	Local authorities associations 17	Public Health Committee of the British Medical Association 13
Dental Council. ²⁰	Dentists employed by or in contract with local authorities.	C.C.A. 3 A.M.C. 3 L.C.C. 1 Scottish local authority associations 2	British Dental Association.
Optical Council and Standing Committees A, B, C and D. ²¹	Ophthalmic or dispensing opticians employed by local authorities outside the National Health Service. Also those employed under Section 66 of the N.H.S. Act, 1946.	Representatives of the Ministry of Health and Regional Hospital Boards. Also C.C.A. and A.M.C.	Association of Dispensing Opticians 6 Association of Scientific Workers 2 Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers 2 Representatives of other professional associations. 10
Pharmaceutical Council—Standing Committee C.	Pharmacists.	Representatives of Ministry of Health and Regional Hospital Boards and one representative of local health authorities.	Guild of Public Pharmacists 6 Association of Scientific Workers 1 Confederation of Health Service Employees 1

¹⁶Local authorities are the money-providing, not the employing, bodies.¹⁷The General Council deals with questions which affect more than one functional group. Each functional council negotiates the remuneration of persons coming within its particular group and such conditions of service as affect only those persons.¹⁸The council must appoint three committees: A. General Medical Services; B. Hospital and Specialist Services; C. Public Health Services.¹⁹Decisions do not require approval of the Medical Council. They are transmitted direct to local authorities. A representative of the Ministry of Health attends as an observer.²⁰A representative of the Ministry of Health attends as an observer.²¹The Council appoints four committees on which two representatives of local authorities' associations sit if their employees are affected.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Appendix (continued)

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
Professional and Technical Staff Council A — Standing Committee A.	Biochemists, physicists, psychologists.	Ministry of Health 4 Department of Health for Scotland 1 Regional Hospital Boards 3 Boards of Governors 1 C.C.A. 1 A.M.C. 1 L.C.C. 1 Scottish local authority associations 1	Association of Scientific Workers 2 Hospital Physicists Association 2 N.A.L.G.O. 2
Standing Committee B.	Almoners, speech therapists, psychiatric social workers.	As above.	Association of Psychiatric Workers 2 College of Speech Therapists 2 Institute of Almoners 2 N.A.L.G.O. 1 Confederation of Health Service Employees 1 National Union of Public Employees 1
Standing Committee C.	Physiotherapists, occupational therapists, remedial gymnasts.	As above.	Association of Remedial Gymnasts 1 Chartered Society of Physiotherapists 6 Association of Occupational Therapists 3 Confederation of Health Service Employees 1 N.A.L.G.O. 1 N.U.P.E. 1
Standing Committee D.	Radiographers, orthoptists, dieticians, chiroprodists.	As above.	British Dietetic Association 2 British Orthoptic Society 2 Society of Chiroprodists 2 Association of Scientific Workers 1 Confederation of Health Service Employees 1 N.A.L.G.O. 1 N.U.P.E. 1
Professional and Technical Staff Council 22.	Laboratory technicians, dental technicians, dispensing assistants, medical photographers, hospital engineers, regional board architects and engineers, clerks of works, hearing aid technicians and others.	Ministry of Health 6 Scottish Board of Health 2 Regional Hospital Boards 4 Boards of Governors 2 C.C.A. 1 A.M.C. 1 L.C.C. 1 Scottish local authorities 2	Association of Supervisory Staffs and Executive Technicians 2 Association of Scientific Workers 2 Institution of Hospital Engineers 2 Institution of Engineers in Charge 2 N.A.L.G.O. 2 N.U.P.E. 2 Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers 2 Confederation of Health Service Employees 2

*The Council appoints six committees whose membership is drawn from the Council. Local authorities are only represented on B and C, which cover dental technicians and dispensing assistants.

Appendix (continued)

Name of Body	Scope	Employers' Side	Employees' Side
Nurses and Midwives Council.	Nurses and midwives engaged on nursing duties in the National Health Service, School Medical Service and in residential institutions and nursery schools provided by local authorities.	Ministry of Health 6 Department of Health for Scotland 2 Regional Hospital Boards 4 Boards of Governors 2 A.M.C. 2 C.C.A. 2 L.C.C. 2 Scottish local authorities 2	Association of Hospital Matrons 2 Association of Supervisors of Midwives 1 Royal College of Midwives 6 Royal College of Nursing 12 Women Public Health Officers Association 2 Scottish Matrons Association 1 Scottish Health Visitors Association 1 Confederation of Health Service Employees 4 Association of Hospital Welfare Administrators 1 N.A.L.G.O. 4 National Union of General and Municipal Workers 3 N.U.P.E. 4
Ancillary Staffs Council.	Domestic and manual staffs employed in hospitals and allied institutions, by executive councils and by local authorities in or about residential establishments.	As above.	Confederation of Health Service Employees 4 National Union of General and Municipal Workers 4 N.U.P.E. 4 Transport and General Workers' Union 4

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENCE

From: Miss Enid Lakeman, Research Secretary,
The Proportional Representation Society.

19th September, 1955.

THE REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS

David Butler's interesting examination of the Boundary Commissioners' work omits one important point: that there would never have been any occasion for his inquest if the schedule of constituencies drawn up by the House of Lords in 1918 had been put into effect.

That schedule divided the country into about 180 constituencies, most of them electing three or more members each, by P.R. The majority of those constituencies could have remained to this day, with their boundaries quite unchanged and, at most, an increase or decrease in their number of members. For instance, to take an example much in the public eye, the schedule proposed Fulham plus Hammersmith as one four-member constituency; had that proposal been adopted, when it became obvious that the electorate of those combined boroughs no longer entitled them to four M.Ps. the number would simply have been reduced to three—involving only a change in the returning officer's arithmetic, none in the boundaries. Where very large changes in population have occurred, some new boundaries would be necessary, but they would be few and easy to draw—for instance, Hertfordshire would now be divided into two four-member constituencies instead of, as has actually happened, first five single-member constituencies, then six, then seven, and now eight. Moreover, the precise way in which those new boundaries were drawn could have little, if any, effect on the result of a general election; neither gerrymandering nor the suspicion of it would be possible.

I fully support Mr. Butler's plea for an enquiry into our future policy regarding boundaries, but that enquiry should have terms of reference wider than he suggests, and ought not to take for granted the continuance of the single-member constituencies which set the Boundary Commissioners an impossible task.

ERRATUM

The price of *American Government* by Richard H. Pear (MacGibbon and Kee) is 15s. and not as stated at the head of page 352 of the Autumn, 1955, issue.

Local Government Reform in South Africa

By L. P. GREEN

Dr. Green, a member of the Town Clerk's Department, City of Johannesburg, reviews the Interim Report of the Transvaal Commission of Inquiry and the criticisms levelled against it.

FOR various financial, administrative, demographic and political reasons, demands for an inquiry into local government began to be made in South Africa soon after the last war. For similar reasons, they were met by the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry in the Transvaal, the most northerly of the four provinces, in October, 1953. This Commission, the fourth to be appointed in the Transvaal in the last 45 years, issued an Interim Report in May, 1955, on the principles of local government. The Report has already been severely criticised in many authoritative quarters and this criticism may well cause the Commission to modify their final recommendations, or influence the province to reject the more controversial of them. Even so the Report remains of possibly more than provincial and even South African interest. It has certainly stimulated considerable thought in South Africa in regard to the aims, purposes and role of local government in modern democracies, and its main findings are briefly reported here, together with the chief criticisms, for wider information and appreciation.

The Commission's Findings

The Commission bases its recommendations on six findings, namely that :

1. Local self-government is indispensable to the structure of South African Government generally, which consists of the Union Government, four provincial administrations (excluding S.W. Africa) and four systems of local government (one in each province).

2. There is a growing tide of public opinion against retaining the present council-committee system at the municipal level.

3. Local government in the Transvaal has so far been successful because of the public spirit of many of its citizens and the loyal service of its officers, but there are signs that the position has been deteriorating for some time.

4. The basic causes of this deterioration are insufficient provincial guidance, lack of experiment, inelasticity of the system and a general absence of the dynamic quality of self-change.

5. As a result, obsolete forms of government and administration have been retained ; attempts have been made to graft old methods on fast developing communities ; there has been a failure to create within the elected municipal council the checks and balances necessitated by

ever-changing circumstances and conditions ; and there has been an unrealistic exercise of provincial controls.

6. Not enough has yet been done to raise the general level of qualification and standard of performance of municipal staffs, and the fallacy that a body of officials can do without a chief officer if it is controlled by a number of lay administrators has tended to stultify rather than stimulate pride and initiative.

The critics point out that in the thirty or so volumes of published evidence to the Commission, there is very little to justify these findings, except for the indispensable nature of local self-government and lack of provincial realism. Nor are any supporting facts mentioned in the Report, although the Commission specifically asked for them. Some of the findings are rebutted elsewhere in the Report itself, either directly or by implication. Certainly, the recent municipal history of the Transvaal does not bear out the Commission's strictures on the system's lack of experiment, dynamism and initiative, nor their accusation of obsolescence. Moreover, its flexibility has been well demonstrated by the rapid rise of Johannesburg, which in only 70 years has grown from half-a-dozen farms to a city with some one million inhabitants, an area of 120 square miles and an annual budget of almost £28 million. During the city's first fourteen years its administration was particularly unhappy ; but since the inception of the council-committee system between 1901 and 1903, its municipal government has never looked back and, today, its *per capita* costs compare favourably with those of other large cities in Great Britain and America.

The Commission's Recommendations

Three important innovations are recommended by the Commission, namely : (a) the creation of a provincial local government board to be known as the Board for the Advancement of Local Government ; (b) the replacement of the present committee system by a single executive committee ; and (c) the creation of a new post of principal officer in every municipality. The Commission considers these three recommendations to be so interrelated that the adoption of any one must render the adoption of the other two almost inevitable.

(a) The Board for the Advancement of Local Government

At present, local government in the Transvaal falls mainly under the jurisdiction of the province. The machinery of government consists of a Provincial Council elected by the parliamentary voters of the province, an Executive Committee of four members elected by the Council by proportional representation for five years, and an Administrator. He is appointed for five years, is paid by the Central Government, and is a fifth member and chairman of the Executive Committee. The Committee is constitutionally responsible to no one, the Administrator is both a central and provincial agent, and the whole organisation is strongly reminiscent of the Netherlands provincial system. The executive machinery consists of a Provincial Secretary and a number of subordinate departments and branches, one of which is

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

the Local Government Branch. This office deals with all local government administrative matters, and nine kinds of provincial controls ensure that it is by no means idle.

The proposed Board is to consist of three full-time salaried members appointed for not less than five years at a time by the Administrator-in-Executive-Committee. It is to have a staff of technical experts and inspectors and to undertake the functions of the existing Local Government Branch, of a research bureau, of a central clearing house, of an O. & M. service and inspectorate (that may be imposed upon a local authority if the Board so wishes), and of a general adviser to the Administrator in local government matters. In addition, it is to be involved in the appointment of principal officers, in modifications in the municipal executive committee system and, it seems, in domestic reorganisations affecting these two matters.

(b) The City or Town Executive Committee

It is recommended that every council elects, by proportional representation from among its councillors, an executive committee of three salaried members where the total number of councillors is less than thirteen, and five in all other cases, for three years (the duration of the council). The council will designate the chairman. The committee's functions will be to carry out the policy of the council (which will meet not less than once in every two calendar months and not less than six times a year), to appoint and control the staff through the principal officer, and to take over the financial control exercised by the present finance committee of the council, subject only to the veto of the full council. The Board for the Advancement of Local Government will have the power to authorise a council to appoint additional executive committees in exceptional circumstances, and any number of non-executive committees may be appointed by the full council and by the city or town executive committee. The executive committee's powers will be divided into two categories—those prescribed by a proposed Local Government Ordinance, and those which the council may wish to delegate to it. It will be lawful for the committee to delegate any of its powers to the principal officer and, through him, to any other official or body of officials.

(c) The Principal Officer

The Commission recommend that every municipality be obliged by the proposed Ordinance to appoint a principal officer to take charge of the town clerk's department, to be the only channel of communication between the council and its servants, to be responsible for the efficient administration of all municipal work, and to be the chief accounting officer (but not treasurer) of the municipality. His salary is to be at least 10 per cent. above that of any other permanent officer. He is not to fall within the scope of the Industrial Conciliation Act, and he is to enjoy the same protection against demotion and dismissal as the town clerk now enjoys, i.e., right of appeal to the Administrator. He is to be appointed by the council within six months of the commencement of the proposed Ordinance from among its existing staff, unless the council prefers to throw the post open to public competition.

In such case, and in the case of every vacancy arising thereafter, all applications received by the council are to be referred to the Board for Local Government which, if it does not reject all applications, will prepare a short list from which the council will choose the new incumbent.

Local Criticisms

Since the Commission's basic findings are open to such trenchant criticism, the recommendations have also come under heavy fire. The consensus of opinion denies any necessary relationship between the three proposed innovations, unless the new Board's proposed powers of control are accepted. It makes short shrift of the second and third proposals and divides on the first. Some critics reject the Board outright as but another bottleneck in the province's already slow procedure, and but a new political pressure-point for the majority party in the Provincial Council and Executive Committee. Others accept only a truncated version of the Board, leaving it with the sole function of advising the Administrator on matters referred to it. Most agree that the present provincial Local Government Branch should be developed into a Department by the addition of two sections, one to supply an O. & M. service at the request of local authorities, and the other to supply a technical research service of assistance to such authorities in other ways. It is felt that a Board set up and organised to undertake research and O. & M. functions—its chairman is to have extensive local government experience, one member is to be recruited from the business field, and the other is to be an academic person but not necessarily learned in local government—can hardly be expected to undertake the administrative work of the present Branch. In any event, boards are an outmoded administrative device and unnecessarily complicate the machinery of government.

The second and third innovations are criticised because they remove barriers on the road to bureaucracy, fail to distinguish between large- and small-scale municipal organisations, and encourage inflexibility in machinery that should be essentially adaptable to the varying needs and circumstances of different local authorities. Although the Commission specifically rejects the Dutch system of local government because of its limited local responsibility, it seems to take as a guide provincial machinery which is organically related to that system, is locally representative rather than responsible, and has to undertake a much smaller variety of functions than any sizeable municipality in the Transvaal.

The Commission condemns the existing committee system for splitting the municipal organisation into water-tight compartments, for encouraging councillors to interfere with officers, for relegating the full council to the position of a rubber stamp; for taking up too much of the councillors' time; and for the electorate's ignorance of, and lack of interest in, municipal affairs. But it itself rebuts the last indictment elsewhere, and it can hardly expect to resuscitate the council by denying to all but three or five of its members any direct and continuous connection with the administration of municipal business. Councillors certainly have to spend a great deal of their time in committee meetings in the larger local authorities, but the Commission's solution, it is argued, is to ask them to give up so little of their time as to

render the trouble of election not worth while. Streamlining of the present system is a more realistic answer, and the amount of interference with officials is exaggerated except in the smaller communities. In any case, a system of self-government cannot be more honest or zealous than the community that employs it. As for the "departmentalisation" of municipal organisations, it is contended that this is not primarily the effect of the committee system at all, since the committee system and the departmental system are themselves the results of division of labour and decentralisation. The causes of water-tight departments are to be sought in evolutionary principles of organisation that affect all forms of administration, whether private or public, and the solutions should, therefore, be sought in better means of communication and co-ordination.

Positive criticisms of the Report indicate how this can be effected at the committee stage without the drastic step proposed by the Commission, refer to the O. & M. inquiry into the Coventry City Council's organisation, and suggest reforms along similar lines that would, for instance, give Johannesburg a co-ordinating and finance "cabinet" committee and only six other standing committees. But the Commission itself, while approving the Coventry report, considers an executive committee the only practicable solution. It is not sure how the executive should work, but appears to think that it should act as a group of local cabinet ministers. Critics point out that Professor Wheare has recently rejected this device and has been supported by Mr. Herbert Morrison. The alternative of allocating divisions of work to sub-committees is set aside as but a poor replica of the existing system; and a third possibility, that the executive committee should collectively deal with a different division of work daily in rotation, has recently been considered and rejected by the Durban City Council in Natal for administrative reasons, and is criticised from the democratic standpoint by the Institute of Town Clerks (Transvaal Committee).

While some critics would thus oppose an executive committee system *in toto*, others consider that it could work in the smaller municipalities which have but nine councillors and relatively little business to do, and most agree that experiment would be worth while. To encourage such experiment, instead of obliging every local authority to set up an executive committee, it is suggested that permissive powers should be given to town and city councils to appoint such a committee at their discretion and with or without other standing committees.

The third proposed innovation, the principal officer, is considered incompatible with the needs and circumstances of the larger municipalities, and the city-manager plan is invoked as proof. Certainly the ramifications of municipal government in South Africa are far wider than the majority of council-manager organisations in the United States of America, and there is no city comparable to Johannesburg in size and variety of service that has a city manager.

But some criticism goes deeper than this. It is pointed out that in all really large-scale undertakings today, both municipal and commercial, there is a trend towards a managerial group and decentralised administration. Each of the major Transvaal municipalities has some kind of regular departmental committee consisting of the heads of all or the major departments

under the chairmanship of the town clerk, and thus conforms to this trend. The Institute of Town Clerks points out that the Commission is wrong in concluding that local authorities in the Transvaal have no chief administrative officer, since the town clerk undoubtedly fills such a position. The difficulty has been that he has not commanded the tools needed for the effective performance of his task, such as an O. & M. service, personnel manager or staff board, public relations or information officer, and appropriate standing orders. But the position has recently become better, especially in Johannesburg, and the suggested functions of a Provincial Department of Local Government would greatly assist the majority of town clerks. As for the smaller authorities, the Institute submits that in many cases the town clerk is already treasurer as well, and that this dual post should be encouraged.

All these are administrative criticisms and proposals, but there may well be sociological and political aspects as yet hardly considered. For example, an editorial in *Municipal Affairs* asks of the proposed principal officer: "Is a Pooh-bah of this kind really necessary? Does he not belong to the realm of Gilbert and Sullivan? The theory and practice of modern management teach that co-operation is ten times more important than command, and that the administrative pyramid belongs to an authoritarian way of life foreign to our modern democratic climate."

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The Administration of the National Parks

By IVOR GOWAN*

A recent development in local planning administration is reviewed by the Lecturer in Public Administration in the University of Nottingham.

THE object of this paper is limited. I do not propose to discuss the policy decisions that led to the establishment of the National Parks, nor to discuss the substantive problems of planning, land-use, development and management that have subsequently been encountered. My intention is rather to examine the proposals that were made at various stages concerning the most desirable form of administration for the National Parks, to scrutinise the sections of the Act relating to administration, and to discover how that machinery works at the moment.

Origins

The first serious consideration of the desirability of National Parks and the apposite administrative machinery was made by the Addison Committee in 1931 (Cmd. 3851). This Committee envisaged that each park should constitute a single "planning area," for which there would be a Joint Committee of local authorities (para. 25 (c)). These Joint Committees would be supervised by a National Parks Authority, which would also be able to give financial assistance to the local bodies. The Report appeared at a time of financial stringency and nothing happened.

Planning activities were naturally given great prominence in the proposals for reconstruction that were made during the war years. The Scott Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas (Cmd. 6378, 1942) recommended that National Parks should be established for the enjoyment of the whole nation and should be accepted as one of the essential factors in the use of rural land. The Report discussed the processes of selection and delineation of these areas. It proposed that a National Parks Authority should be set up which should be the *ad hoc* local planning authority in the parks. "The parks would thereupon be excluded from any planning schemes formulated by the planning committees of those authorities in whose area they were situated. In effect, these suggestions left no room for local authorities at all in the administration of National Parks. For all purposes apposite to their planning and management, the National Parks would come directly under the central government.

In 1945, Mr. John Dower was requested to make a report to the Minister of Town and Country Planning concerning the problems relating to the establishment of National Parks in England and Wales. The views expressed in this report (Cmd. 6628) were very different from the recommendations of the Scott Committee. Mr. Dower considered it essential that, in order to ensure the effectiveness and the acceptability of the National Parks, the local authorities should collaborate in administering them. At the same time he wanted the central government to have stronger powers in the matter than

*I should like to acknowledge the help given me by Miss Dorothy Hooper, Research Assistant at Nottingham University, in collecting many of the facts of this article.

those suggested by the Addison Committee. He proposed, firstly, that the selection and delineation of the areas suitable for National Parks should be undertaken by the Minister of Town and Country Planning. The Minister would be advised by a Preparatory Commission set up under the powers of Section 8 of the Minister of Town and Country Planning Act, 1943. This stage might precede legislation. Subsequently, legislation should establish a National Parks Commission with a general responsibility to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, but distinct from his department. The Commission should consist of a Chairman and six or eight members chosen for a fixed number of years by the Minister of Town and Country Planning and eligible for reappointment. To administer and supervise planning control within the National Parks, the Dower Report suggested there should be joint executive committees with membership shared between the Commission nominees and local authority representatives. On the development and management side they would exercise a considerable range of powers for which they would be the executive authority.

The Hobhouse Report

It must be recalled that the Dower proposals were made before the general legislation affecting Town and Country Planning had been prepared, and before, for example, the decision had been made that the counties and county boroughs were to be the primary planning authorities in their area. Subsequently, in July, 1945, the Minister of Town and Country Planning set up a strong Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Arthur Hobhouse to advise him further on the proposals made for National Parks, particularly those made by Mr. John Dower. While this Committee was sitting, the Town and Country Planning Bill, 1947 (subsequently the 1947 Act) was being drafted. The National Parks Committee did not report until July, 1947 (Cmd. 7121), at approximately the same time as the new measure reached the statute book, and they noted that :

Considerable changes in these powers, and in the planning system through which they are applied, have been embodied since we began our inquiry, in the Town and Country Planning Bill, 1947, now before Parliament. Indeed, those changes made it impossible to complete our inquiry before the publication of the Bill. We must assume for the purposes of this Report that the new Bill will be passed into law substantially in its present form, and that the system of planning will be modified accordingly and will form the legislative setting for our National Parks Scheme (para. 58).

Under the new Town and Country Planning Act the local planning authorities for England and Wales were normally the County Councils and the County Borough Councils, but the County Councils might be authorised, or required by regulations, to delegate certain of their powers to County District Councils. Furthermore, the Minister might be empowered in certain circumstances to constitute the areas of any two or more counties or county boroughs, or any parts thereof, as a "United District" and to establish as its local planning authority a "Joint Planning Board" (Section 8(2)). These local planning authorities were required within three years to survey their

areas, and to submit to the Minister a Development Plan indicating the manner in which they proposed that land in the areas should be used. The Hobhouse Committee took particular care to see that its proposals for the administration of the National Parks could easily be harmonised with the main provisions of the general Town and Country Planning Act to which they were complementary. We must now look more carefully at the specific proposals which they made in the field of administration.

The Hobhouse Committee agreed with the Dower Report that the central administration of the National Parks should be "a body of high standing, expert qualifications, substantial independence and permanent constitution, which will uphold, and be regarded by the public as upholding, the landscape, agricultural and recreational values, whose dominance is the essential purpose of the National Parks (para. 46). These requirements would be met by the creation of a National Parks Commission. They envisaged (para. 47) two principal tasks for the National Parks Commission:

(a) To form policy for the planning and management of the Parks and to see that it is fully and effectively applied.

(b) To supervise the expenditure of money for this purpose.

The Hobhouse proposals thus gave a good deal of power to the central body. It was to be the policy-making body and was to have control of finance. It was, in addition, to nominate a majority of each of the Park Committees, and, in most respects, to designate their sphere of activity.

What of the suggestions for local administration? The Hobhouse Committee thought that each National Park should be treated as a single geographical unit to be planned "in accordance with the Commission's policy under their general guidance" (para. 73); and at the same time that an organisation should be created to perform this function which would fit, with the least possible dislocation, into the general pattern of local planning authorities operating throughout the country under the central control of the Minister. There were four main requirements for the local administration:

(a) To achieve the essential correlation of planning and management.

(b) To ensure that National Parks are in a true sense national.

(c) To make full use of local experience and local interest.

(d) To evolve a local planning organisation which would fit into the framework of Town and Country Planning (para. 74).

To achieve these aims the Committee considered that for each National Park a Local Park Committee should be established as its local planning authority, the park being constituted a "United District" for the purpose of planning. The Park Committee would, in addition to its planning powers, have positive management functions, but the constitution of the Park Committee would, in some respects, differ from that of a Joint Planning Board under the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947. The finances of these schemes were to be met centrally (para. 78), and in addition the normal administrative expenses of the Park Committees were to be borne on the National Parks Budget. In view of this expenditure of national money, and in view of their responsibility as planning authorities for areas where the protection of the landscape was a matter of national urgency,

it was proposed that one-half of the members of each Committee—and the Chairman—should be appointed by the National Parks Commission.

The Park Committee would employ its own planning officer whose salary would be borne by the Commission, but the Commission itself would employ the necessary administrative and technical staff, headed by a chief resident officer who might be called the Assistant Commissioner (para. 83). Other staff envisaged were an Estates Officer and an Information Officer. These would carry out executive action on behalf of the Commission and of the Park Committee.

The National Parks, etc., Act, 1949

To a considerable extent, the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949, followed the Hobhouse proposals: it was a comprehensive measure providing for the designation and administration of National Parks. Special sections dealt with Nature Conservation, Public Rights of Way and Access to Open Country, but with these I do not propose to deal. The processes of designating and administering the National Parks were, following the Hobhouse recommendations, to be largely integrated with the principal provisions of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947. There was provision for a National Parks Commission and for Park Planning Boards constituted under the Minister's powers to designate "united areas." But, in many respects, the administrative provisions of the Act were remarkably different from those envisaged in the Hobhouse proposals.

Mr. Silkin, in introducing the second reading¹, defined a National Park as "an extensive area of outstanding beauty suitable for open-air recreation by the general public but where the normal life of the existing community goes on." The Act provided for a National Parks Commission to consist of a Chairman, Deputy Chairman and such other members as might be determined by the Minister of Town and Country Planning, who was also to lay down the length and conditions of tenure of their office. A salary might be paid to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, expenses to the other members. With the Minister's approval they might appoint a secretary and such other staff as was deemed necessary. The Minister might give directions of a general character to the Commission, with which the Commission was obliged to comply. Every year the Commission was to make to the Minister "a report on the discharge by them of these functions of the Act" during the previous twelve months, and this report was to include:

A record of all questions with which the Commission had been concerned during the period and which appear to the Commission to be of general public interest, including the purport of any representations and recommendations made by the Commission with respect thereto and the conclusions (if any) reached therein.

The Annual Report was also to set out any directive given by the Minister to the Commission unless the Minister had signified to the Commission that it would be against the interests of national security to take this course.

The functions and powers of the National Parks Commission were summarised as follows by the Minister of Town and Country Planning in introducing the Bill to the House of Commons²:

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NATIONAL PARKS

(a) To make orders designating areas for National Parks, subject to confirmation by the Minister.

(b) To make recommendations as to the constitution of Park Planning Authorities.

(c) To suggest the names of suitable people to the Minister for co-option on the Park Planning Authorities.

(d) To make recommendations to the Minister and to the appropriate planning authority as to the arrangements to be made for administering the area as a National Park.

(e) To review the activities of the planning authorities in the area of National Parks.

(f) To advise the local authorities and the Minister on plans for development.

(g) To make recommendations on grants to local authorities.

Thus the Commission lacked the directive powers and financial responsibility which the Hobhouse Committee had recommended. It had acquired the shape of an advisory and supervisory body.

Let us now turn to the provisions for the Local Park Committees as set out in the National Parks Act. In the Act, the Local Park Committees took on a different role from that recommended by the Hobhouse Committee.

Firstly, where the National Park was wholly within the area of one county, the County Council itself would be the authority responsible for its administration. In this case, the Council would be bound to set up a Committee to administer the park, one-third of whose members would be nominated by the Minister on the advice of the Commission. Such powers would be delegated to the Committee as should be agreed between the County Council and the Commission; in the event of disagreement, the Minister should decide between these bodies.

Secondly, in National Parks whose area was split among two or more authorities, the Park Authority was to be a Joint Board set up under the powers exercised by the Minister through the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947. One-third of the members of the Board would be nominated by the Minister on the advice of the Commission; the rest would be appointed by the Councils on the basis of a scheme drawn up by the respective authorities and approved by the Minister.

Thirdly, in some cases, the Minister might abrogate the necessity for a Joint Board. In this case, the separate authorities would each administer that part of a National Park which fell in their area, setting up a statutory Parks Committee for this purpose. In addition there would be an Advisory Committee which would have the duty of advising all local planning authorities whose areas included land within the park. In such cases the statutory committees of the local authorities concerned, together with the Advisory Committee, would be constituted in the ratio of one-third of the members nominated by the Commission and two-thirds by the local authorities as under the Joint Boards.

In his second reading speech³, the Minister had this to say regarding the second and third alternatives :

It is normally my intention to set up a Joint Board because I recognise the importance of uniform administration in a National Park area. It would be contrary to the purpose of a National Park that it should be possible to have different authorities administering different parts of it in different ways and the normal and obvious method of that administration will be by way of a Joint Board.

Only in exceptional cases would I consider an advisory committee at all, and these would be where a large part of this National Park area is in the area of one authority and a small portion is in the area of another or several authorities.

Following the proposals of the Hobhouse Committee, the Park Authority was to exercise both the powers of a planning authority, i.e., preparation of the Development Plan and control of development, and the positive management functions set out in the Act.

The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act received the Royal Assent on 16th December, 1949. The National Parks Commission with a membership of eleven was completed by 20th February, 1950. The membership of the National Parks Commission at the moment consists of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman and ten other members. The Chairman is Lord Strang, who has recently retired from a career in the Foreign Office, and the Vice-Chairman is Lord Lawson, a former member of the Labour Government. Of the ten other members, four are scientific experts in subjects relating to agriculture or forestry, and three have been associated with interests concerned with youth, rambling or the preservation of the countryside. Of the three remaining members, one is a doctor from Wales, one the Vice-Chairman of the Hampshire County Council, and one the Vice-Chancellor of Reading University.

Administration of the Parks

The National Parks Commission has issued five reports which are our principal source concerning the administration of the Parks. First, it may be appropriate to set out the steps that have led to the designation of particular areas as Parks. Mr. Dalton, Minister of Town and Country Planning when the first report appeared, stated: "I had hoped to see three parks actually designated before the end of 1950 and we have not quite achieved that." Nevertheless, he hoped the Peak, the Lakes and the Snowdonia Parks would be designated by the spring of 1951.

The Peak Park was designated by Order of 20th August, 1951. The authority is a Joint Planning Board, composed of 27 members. The local authority members are appointed in the following proportions by the constituent authorities: eight from the Derbyshire County Council, three from the Staffordshire County Council, three from the Cheshire County Council, two from the County Council for the West Riding of Yorkshire and two from the County Borough of Sheffield. Nine members have been appointed by the Minister, of whom six are associated with the voluntary societies interested in the preservation and use of the countryside, one is a farmer, one a scientist and one a trade unionist.

The Lakes Park was designated by an Order of 13th August, 1951. The machinery of administration is a Joint Planning Board of 18 members. Of the

twelve local authority members, four each are appointed by the Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland County Councils respectively. The six members appointed by the Minister are all interested in the various voluntary societies for the preservation and use of the countryside.

In these two cases, the processes of designation and delineation of the boundary of the appropriate authority were not unduly difficult or delayed. In the case of the Snowdonia Park, there was a very different story and it is probably worth while to set out the time-table in this case.

After consultation with the various local authorities, the Commission designated the park on 6th February, 1951. After representations made concerning land to be added and land to be excluded, the Minister of Local Government and Planning held an Inquiry at Dolgelly on 3rd May, 1951. (The Minister of Local Government and Planning, now the Minister of Housing and Local Government, took over the functions of the Minister of Town and Country Planning in 1951.) Modifications were made and the Minister issued a public notice of the proposals giving an opportunity for further representations to be made. After a further inquiry held by the Minister's Inspector at Caernarvon on 18th September, 1951, confirmation of the designation of the park was made by the Minister on 18th October, 1951⁴.

Meanwhile, the matter was complicated by a dispute between the authorities and the Minister as to the appropriate Park Authority. In June, 1951, the Minister of Local Government and Planning informed the three County Councils concerned, who pressed their desire not to have a Joint Board, that there were no special reasons which would warrant him dispensing with the normal requirement of a Joint Board. In July, 1951, the Councils indicated their dissatisfaction with this decision and stated that they would press to secure a ministerial direction dispensing with a Joint Board and setting up a Joint Advisory Committee. After the confirmation of the Designation Order on 18th October, 1951, and its coming into operation on 20th November, 1951, the Councils neglected⁵ to fulfil their statutory obligation to consult the Commission during the subsequent period of three months laid down in Section 8(1) of the Act.

After the General Election of 1951 had produced a change of Government, the new Minister of Housing and Local Government received, at their request, a further deputation from the three Councils supported by local Members of Parliament⁶. In a letter of 25th April, 1952, the Minister stated that he could not doubt that the National Parks Commission were right in believing that a National Park ought to be administered by one authority. Nevertheless he would accept the Councils' proposals for a Joint Advisory Committee subject to certain assurances being given. The Commission itself approved this course. Subsequently, by the Snowdonia Park Joint Advisory Committee Order of 8th February, 1953, the Minister directed that in lieu of a Joint Planning Board there should, for an experimental period of three years, be a Joint Advisory Committee⁷.

The effect of this Order is that the three County Councils of Caernarvon, Denbigh and Merioneth are each now responsible for planning that part of the Snowdonia Park which is in their area; each of the Councils has set up a special Park Planning Committee which operates as if the sections were a

one-county park. The Merioneth and Caernarvon Committees consist of eighteen members each: twelve councillors and six members appointed by the Minister. Three of the nominated members are appointed to both the County and the Joint Advisory Committees. The Denbighshire Park Committee consists of nine members, three of whom are nominated by the Minister.

The Joint Advisory Committee consists of twenty-four members, sixteen of whom are elected by the three County Councils (eight Merioneth, six Caernarvon, two Denbigh Councils). Eight members are nominated by the Minister. All of them are also on one of the Park Committees, and three of them are on two.

The terms of reference of the Advisory Committee are:

(a) To advise each of the three Authorities as to the exercise of their functions under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, and the National Parks Act, 1949.

(b) To consider in relation to the park what actions these Authorities need to take under the Acts referred to, and having regard to any representations made by the Commission, to make for any of these Authorities such recommendations as appear to them to be necessary.

Each of the Authorities must refer to the Advisory Committee before they take action on certain matters. These matters relate to the preparation of development plans, important applications for permission to develop and any matters which the Commission may from time to time request any Authority to refer to the Committee. It is also provided that none of the Authorities concerned shall take action contrary to the advice of the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee is under an obligation to take the advice of a Planning Consultant on all matters.

Each of the three separate Park Planning Committees exercises the functions of the County Council in respect of the designated area under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, and under the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949, with the following exceptions:

(a) The submission or variation of any Development Plan and the approval of any development inconsistent with a Development Plan.

(b) Functions relating to footpaths and long distance routes.

(c) Certain financial and administrative matters.

The Dartmoor National Park was designated on 30th October, 1951, and being wholly within the area of one county, the Dartmoor National Park Committee is a separate Committee of the Devon County Council which is the Planning Authority for the park. The Committee consists of eighteen members, six of whom are nominated by the Minister. The Committee exercises all the powers of the County Council in respect of the National Park under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, with the exception of "public rights of way which are delegated to the County Roads Committee."

The Pembrokeshire Coast National Park was designated on 19th February, 1952, and is again wholly within the boundaries of one county. The Committee consists of eighteen members, six of whom are appointed by the

County Council upon nomination by the Minister. The County Council have delegated to the Park Committee all their powers under the 1947 Act with the following exceptions :

(a) The submission or variation of any Development Plan and the approval of any development inconsistent with a Development Plan.

(b) Functions relating to footpaths and long distance routes. (The Committee, however, will be consulted on any proposal to create, alter or extinguish a public path and on the exercise of the powers of the County Council relating to long distance routes within the park.)

(c) Various matters of finance and staffing and dealing with property which by statute or by the practice of the County Council are dealt with centrally.

The North Yorkshire Moors were designated as a National Park on 28th November, 1952. The North Yorkshire Moors Planning Committee is a separate Committee of the North Riding of Yorkshire County Council within whose boundaries the park lies. The Committee consists of eighteen members, six of whom are appointed by the Council upon the nomination of the Minister. The Committee exercises within the area of the National Park all the powers and duties of the County Council with the exception of powers relating to public rights of way which are delegated to the Highways and Bridges Committee of the County Council.

In the course of 1954 further National Parks were designated in Exmoor and the Yorkshire Dales. In the case of Exmoor, the authority is to be a Park Planning Board with representatives from the counties of Devon and Somerset, while in the case of the Yorkshire Dales the authority will be a Committee of the North Riding County Council.

Organisation of the Park Authorities

So recent has been the designation of National Parks, that only in the case of the Peak and the Lake Districts is it possible to review the administrative machinery set up. Fortunately, in both cases, there have been Annual Reports made to the Minister of Housing and Local Government.

The Peak Park Planning Board has two main committees with three dependent sub-committees. They are as follows :

The Development Control Committee, composed of fifteen members and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Board (*ex officio*), is entrusted with the giving or withholding of planning consent, with powers for the preservation of trees and buildings and with the enforcement of provisions of the Act and decisions of the Board. Its Standing Sub-Committee has the duty of visiting sites, and discussing applications for planning permission with individual applicants and District Council representatives.

The Finance and General Purposes Committee also contains fifteen members and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Board (*ex officio*). The committee exercises the remaining administrative functions of the Board and makes recommendations to the Board. Its Access Sub-Committee carries out the Board's duties with regard to access to the countryside and the Accommodation Sub-Committee is concerned with the review of existing

accommodation and catering facilities in the park, and has power to recommend action for providing any needed additional accommodation and catering facilities.

In the early days of the Board's existence it employed the Planning Officer of the Derbyshire County Council, but since 31st December, 1952, it has employed its own Planning Officers. The present staff now numbers sixteen, comprising a Planning Officer, a Deputy Planning Officer, nine technical assistants and five clerical assistants. The Clerk and Treasurer of the Derbyshire County Council act as Clerk and Treasurer of the Board and specialists in geology and forestry of the Derbyshire County Council are also available for the Board. The Board makes a payment to the Derbyshire County Council for the use of these officers.

The Lakes Planning Board has four Standing Committees with the following composition and functions :

1. Development Control—nine members

Powers delegated : To carry out functions of the Board under Sections 12-18, 23, 24, 31 and 32 of Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, and Sections 39-45 of the National Parks and Access to Countryside Act, 1949.

2. Trees and Forestry—eight members

Powers delegated : (a) To authorise making of Tree Preservation Orders. (b) Deal with any application to fell. (c) Deal with any application to fell under the Forestry Act, 1951. (d) Deal with any proposal to afforest land.

3. Access—seven members

To consider and report on all matters *re* access or rights of way.

4. Finance and General Purposes—eighteen members

To consider all financial and administrative matters and settle the preparation of Annual Reports, Annual Programmes and the Development Plan.

In this case the Minister, against the advice of the National Parks Commission, has permitted the Board to make for a three-year trial period the experiment of using the services of each of the three counties' Planning Officers in his own area, instead of appointing a separate Parks Planning Officer. The Clerk and the Treasurer of the Westmorland County Council act as Clerk and Treasurer of the Board.

Financial Arrangements

It would be well to make some comment about the financial arrangements under the National Parks Act. First, the expenses of the National Parks Commission are borne upon the vote of the Minister of Housing and Local Government. The estimated expenditure of the Commission in 1953-54 amounted to £21,114. Second, the cost of those parks falling within the area of a single County Council falls upon the budget of the County Council in the normal way. Park Planning Boards, on the other hand, precept upon their constituent authorities according to a formula laid down in the appropriate Designation Order. Grants may be paid for certain approved expenditure

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NATIONAL PARKS

in the National Parks under Section 97 of the National Parks Act, 1949. The Appendix contains details of the expenditure on which grants may be paid. The rate of these grants has been fixed at 75 per cent. A grant is not payable except where the Commission has recommended payment apart from exceptional cases where the Minister of Housing and Local Government may set aside this proviso.

As an example of the expenditure of a park authority, the accounts of the Peak Park Planning Board for the year April, 1952-March, 1954, show that almost the whole of the net expenditure incurred by the Board during this year was on administration. Less than £1,000 out of £27,000 was spent on the positive functions of the Board and so qualified for grant. This, of course, may be a temporary phenomenon and the proportion of expenditure incurring grant will undoubtedly increase as the Board is in a position to undertake more activities.

Lord Strang's Views

Lord Strang, the present Chairman of the National Parks Commission, made some interesting observations on the working of the Commission and the National Parks Committees in the evidence he gave at the inquiry into the objections to the Exmoor Designation Order in June, 1954⁸. He concerned himself with two main themes: the designation and the administration of the parks. He said that the Commission was not merely given power to designate parks: they had a direct injunction to do so and they would be failing in their duty if they neglected to do so. The act of designation was not final but was subject to confirmation by the Minister of Housing and Local Government.

On the administration of the parks, Lord Strang made the following comment:

As there may be misapprehension in some quarters as to what the intention of the National Parks Act, in respect of National Parks, really is, perhaps a few observations may be permitted. I have in mind particularly the theory that areas like Exmoor would be better left entirely in local hands to serve the needs of neighbouring populations. It is important to note that, by making provision for the creation of National Parks, and by setting up an independent Commission to designate them and to exercise advisory and supervisory functions in regard to their administration, Parliament has declared a national interest in certain areas of the English countryside. In order further to mark this national interest, Parliament has provided for the establishment of special planning bodies, entrusted with the sole task of administering these areas, and has laid down that these bodies shall comprise, not merely elective representatives drawn from the local authorities, but also nominated members appointed by the local authorities on the nomination of the Minister. These bodies are obliged to prepare each year their concrete proposals for fulfilling the purposes of the Act in the National Parks under their administration and to submit them to the Commission for comment. Parliament has also made provision for certain special grants to assist the responsible planning authorities in carrying out some of the provisions of the Act in regard to these areas⁹.

The Commission, the Minister and the Local Park Authorities

In conclusion, let us review the relative positions of the National Parks Commission, the Minister of Housing and Local Government and the local Park Authorities in the administration of the parks. The Commission has a dual role: in the first place it is a repository of expert knowledge on the subject and therefore charged with the duty of promoting the policy of creating National Parks. But it has no executive powers and therefore its second task is to give expert advice both to the Minister and to the local authorities to help them in the discharge of their executive powers. We have already surveyed those duties which are principally concerned with the designation of the parks, proposals for development within them and advice to the Minister on grants to the Park Authorities.

The Minister, in all matters of importance, has the ultimate decision and has to balance the special interests of the National Parks with those of planning as a whole and with the broader questions in which planning is related to wider issues of local and central government policy. By his acceptance, refusal or modification of the proposals put up to him by the National Parks Commission or by the Park Authorities, he must decide what place the National Parks will have in the life of the nation.

Locally, the parks may be administered either by the County Councils or by Park Planning Boards. In each case the authority will have one-third of its members nominated by the Minister. In the case of County Council administration there has to be a Statutory Committee created with terms of reference approved by the Minister.

Use of Joint Authorities in this country is limited and this experiment will provide an interesting example of their utility. We have seen that earlier proposals on the question of the administration of the National Parks suggested that they should be taken entirely out of the hands of the local authorities. It is probably wise that the Act has laid down that the principal responsibility shall rest with local government.

¹463 H.C. Deb., col. 1464.

²463 H.C. Deb., cols. 1468-9. See also Sections 6(i)-(iv) of the Act.

³463 H.C. Deb., col. 1470.

⁴Second Annual Report of the National Parks Commission for the year ending 30th September, 1951, p. 2.

⁵Third Annual Report, p. 3.

⁶*Idem*, p. 3.

⁷*Ibid*, Fourth Annual Report, p. 3.

⁸Fifth Report, Appendix C.

⁹*Ibid*, p. 12.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

APPENDIX:

Expenditure eligible for Grant

The National Parks and Access to the Countryside (Grants) Regulations, 1954

1. Subject to the provisions of these regulations, grant shall be payable by the Minister to local authorities in respect of the expenditure (being expenditure approved by the Minister with the consent of the Treasury) incurred by them in any years in the exercise:

(a) Of their powers of erecting buildings and carrying out work under Section 12 of the Act (which relates to the provision in, or in the neighbourhood of, a National Park of accommodation, meals, refreshments, camping sites and parking places);

(b) Of their powers of carrying out work under Section 13 of the Act (which relates to the improvement of waterways in a National Park for the purposes of open-air recreation);

(c) Of their powers under Section 26 of the Act of 1947 (which enables a local planning authority, subject to the payment of compensation in accordance with Section 27 of that Act, to secure the discontinuance or modification of uses of land and the alteration or removal of buildings) as respects land in National Parks or areas of outstanding natural beauty;

(d) Of their powers as respects such land under Subsections (1) and (2) of Section 89 of the Act (which relates to the planting of trees and the treatment of derelict land) and under Section 28 of the Act of 1947 (which relates to tree preservation);

(e) Of the powers conferred on them by the Act, as respects such land, for the purposes of Part V thereof (which makes provision for public access to open country) other than powers of acquiring land;

(f) Of their powers of acquiring such land by agreement under Subsection (5) of Section 103 of the Act for the purposes for which land may be acquired compulsorily under Sections 12, 13, 76 or 89 of the Act and of their powers of acquiring such land compulsorily under the said Sections 12, 13, 76 or 89, provided that expenditure incurred in the acquisition of land for the purposes of the said Section 76 (which enables land to be acquired for public access) shall not, unless the Minister allows, be eligible for grant, in so far as it exceeds the expenditure that would, in the opinion of the Minister, have been incurred in the payment of compensation if an access order under Section 65 of the Act had been in force as respects that land;

(g) Of their powers of acquiring land, whether by agreement or compulsorily, in the neighbourhood of a National Park for the purposes of Section 12 of the Act;

(h) Of their powers under Section 92 of the Act (which relates to the appointment of wardens) as respects National Parks or areas of outstanding natural beauty.

2. Where, under an agreement made under Subsection (2) of Section 13 of the Act, a local authority incur expenditure in respect of the carrying out of work by another authority, the expenditure shall be treated for the purposes of these regulations, as if it had been incurred in the exercise of the powers mentioned in sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph (1) of this regulation.

3. Where, in consequence of an order made under Section 26 of the Act of 1947, a purchase notice is served under Section 19 of that Act, then if the interest in respect of which the notice is served is purchased in accordance with the said Section 19 or compensation is payable in respect thereof under Subsection (3) of Section 20 of that Act, expenditure incurred in the purchase of the interest or the payment of compensation shall be treated for the purposes of these regulations as if it were expenditure incurred in the exercise of powers under the said Section 26.

4. In calculating the amount in any year of expenditure in respect of which grant is payable under these regulations, the Minister may take into account such contributions, receipts or other items received by, or due to, the local authority in that year as he may with the consent of the Treasury determine.

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Paternalism in Local Government in the Nineteenth Century

By J. E. WILLIAMS

This article deals with the relation between the development of town government and the great landowners in certain areas during the nineteenth century. Mr. Williams is Staff Tutor in History, University of Sheffield.

IN many respects the nature of the development of local government in the nineteenth century is still obscure. A great deal has been written about local government legislation, about the activities of the central departments of state and about the great figures, such as Chadwick and Kay-Shuttleworth, who played an important part in the formulation of policies. But apart from the work of the Webbs there have not been any general surveys based on a detailed study of the local authorities themselves. Unfortunately the Webbs do not continue their story beyond 1835, the year of the Municipal Corporations Act, which marks only the beginning of the modern system of local government.

One of the neglected aspects of local government history in this period is the way in which towns came under the influence of local families. Such influence has been variously described as "paternalism" or "domination" according to the way in which it was exercised and the effects it has had upon the life and development of the town.

Manchester

On the whole, in the larger towns, municipal independence was gained soon after the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. The situation in Manchester in 1818 has been described as follows:

A perfect stranger in the town of Manchester, when he has passed along its crowded streets and visited its public buildings and its manufactories, would perhaps be surprised if he were told that, notwithstanding its great population, the extent of its buildings, and its situation on the scales of national commerce and provincial importance, it is, in point of fact, a mere village, governed by a Court, to which the Lord of the Manor calls its inhabitants twice a year, to pay him their homage, and to do him suit and service.¹

The lord of the manor was Sir Oswald Mosley, who lived in Derbyshire. His influence, through the Court Leet, extended to most of the administration of the town. The public representative of the people of Manchester was the boroughreeve, but neither he nor the other officers of the Court Leet were chosen by any democratic process of free election from among the burgesses, as they ought to have been according to the charter of 1301. The boroughreeve administered charities, summoned public town's meetings and acted as Treasurer of the Police Commissioners. The Commissioners were a statutory authority who carried out the main administrative reforms of the period. Neither the Commissioners nor the Court Leet had sufficient judicial or financial powers to cope with the needs of a rapidly expanding

industrial and commercial centre.²

In 1837, Richard Cobden was summoned as a juror to the Court Leet. His indignation was aroused by the proceedings and afterwards, when he was presented with a ticket entitling him to attend the Court Leet dinner provided by the lord of the manor, he asked: "Is it that in this great town of Manchester we are still living under the feudal system? Does Sir Oswald Mosley, living up in Derbyshire, send his mandate down here for us to come into this dingy hole to elect a government for Manchester, and then go and get a ticket for soup at his expense?"³

Cobden became the leader of a popular movement which eventually resulted in Manchester receiving a charter of incorporation in 1838, but it was not until 1844 that the Borough Police Act authorised the purchase of the manorial rights and the extinction of the Court Leet. It was estimated that Sir Oswald Mosley derived a yearly income of £9,114 16s. 8d. from the manorial rights and property which it was proposed to transfer. They were acquired by the borough council for £200,000 and it was estimated that there would be an income of at least £1,000 a year over and above the interest charge on the mortgage.

Whitehaven

In some of the smaller towns, despite the Municipal Corporations Act, this process was not carried out until much later in the century. Indeed, in some cases, the influence of the lord of the manor appears to have been so great that it is doubtful whether incorporation would ever have been achieved without the Local Government Act of 1894. Until 1894 the procedure for securing incorporation was by application to the Privy Council on the part of the governing body of the town. Where this happened to be an Improvement Commission upon which the lord of the manor or his agents were well represented, the opposition to any proposal for incorporation could be formidable. As late as 1893, during the first reading of the Local Government Bill, Fowler stated in the House of Commons that there were still 31 Improvement Act districts in existence.⁴

Of these, Whitehaven is an interesting example. The Trustees of the Town and Harbour of Whitehaven, constituted in 1709, were amongst the earliest of the Improvement Commissioners listed by the Webbs⁵ and remained in existence until 1894. In 1708, James Lowther, the lord of the manor of St. Bees, secured "an Act for preserving and enlarging the Harbour of Whitehaven. . . ."⁶ This was the first of a series of special acts of parliament relating to the town and harbour. The Act provided for the appointment of twenty-one Town and Harbour Trustees. Of these, seven were to be nominated by the lord of the manor, James Lowther, and his heirs, who had the power to change them at will; and the remaining fourteen were to be elected by ballot for seven years by the traders and masters of vessels belonging to the port.

The Webbs have called attention to the fact that an elective element in these statutory bodies was the exception rather than the rule, although Whitehaven is not mentioned as one of the exceptions.⁷ The presence of an elective element, however, does not in itself appear to have been sufficient to restrict the powers of the lord of the manor. Despite the establishment

of a governing body for the harbour of Whitehaven, the Lowthers exercised close control and supervision over the work of the Trustees. An examination of the Minutes of the Trustees reveals that the Trustees were frequently called to order for putting their decisions into effect without the consent of the lord of the manor.⁸

By securing periodic enlargements of their powers the Trustees became the governing body for the whole of the town as well as the harbour. During the nineteenth century there was growing opposition to the Lowther interest. In 1859 the Trustees went to Parliament with a Bill for the construction of a wet dock. This gave the lord of the manor the right to use certain of the dock facilities free of toll. The opposition group believed that the Trustees were, in the main, supporters of the Lowther interest, who were nominated by Lord Lonsdale or elected by people upon whom he was able to bring undue pressure as a result of his position as a landowner and employer of labour. They therefore introduced a Bill of their own which was designed to limit the powers of the lord of the manor over the affairs of the town and harbour. The Trustees' Dock Bill⁹ was carried, but as a compromise it was amended to make "better Provision for the Election of Trustees." The town was divided into five wards for electoral purposes, and three trustees were to be elected by each ward. Restrictions were placed upon the powers of the lord of the manor; in future he would be allowed to nominate only five trustees (instead of six) and his consent was no longer necessary for carrying out the provisions of parliamentary acts relating to the town and harbour. Votes were given to all masters of vessels and to property holders rated at not less than £6 *per annum*. Voting was to be by ballot.

In 1878 the opposition group promoted the Whitehaven Town and Harbour Trust Extension Bill, which was opposed by Lord Lonsdale. The Bill was designed to extend the limits of the town and urban sanitary district of Whitehaven and to amend the constitution of the governing body. It provided for the abolition of the nominated trustees and the introduction of a more satisfactory system of voting by ballot. Lord Lonsdale was to be deprived of the rights which were given to him by the Act of 1859 and a subsequent Act of 1871¹⁰ relating to the construction of the wet dock. It was proposed in addition that the Artisans' Dwellings Act should be applied to the town.

Counsel for the promoters of the Bill told a select committee of the House of Commons that Lord Lonsdale virtually controlled the affairs of Whitehaven. Incorporation, he said, was the proper remedy, but this required application of the governing body which was a most unlikely possibility.¹¹ Medical and other witnesses described the disgraceful housing conditions and the high incidence of disease which prevailed in the town.

Nevertheless the Bill was rejected and the Trustees continued to manage the affairs of the town and harbour in the face of increasing difficulties. By 1887 they were obliged to bring in a Bill which would enable them to make arrangements with their creditors. The bondholders petitioned against the proposed reduction of interest and sought the appointment of a managing committee to take the matter out of the hands of the Trustees. It was not, however, until 1894 that Whitehaven was granted a municipal charter and

the Board of Trustees was finally abolished. Even then, Lord Lonsdale became the first mayor of the borough.

Huddersfield

Not all towns had to wait for incorporation quite so long as Whitehaven, but some of them appear to have encountered similar difficulties. The town of Huddersfield is said to have "belonged to another owner in the same degree, and perhaps in greater degree," than Whitehaven belonged to Lord Lonsdale.¹² The Ramsden family of Byram Hall, as lords of the manor, obtained market rights for Huddersfield in 1672.¹³ The Huddersfield Improvement Commissioners dated back to the latter part of the eighteenth century and their constitution was of the kind which was the most frequent and the most characteristic. A list of persons was named in the original Act who served for life and were authorised to fill vacancies among their number by simple co-option.¹⁴ In 1857 the Commissioners acquired the market tolls on lease from Sir John Ramsden. Eleven years later Sir John had to submit to a municipal incorporation and the smooth relationship which had existed between the old Improvement Commission and the lord of the manor was destroyed. The new democratically elected corporation wished to make improvements and to carry out their duties under the Public Health Acts. Accordingly, they brought before Parliament a Bill giving them compulsory purchasing powers so that they could acquire certain of the manorial rights and buy land for building a market hall and for widening the streets. A lengthy legal battle ensued in which Sir John Ramsden "talked about his complete dominion, how he consented to the Corporation being constituted, and how it was very unfair to take advantage of him and to take his property away from him."¹⁵ Nevertheless, in 1876 the corporation purchased all the market rights and tolls from Sir John for the sum of £14,453 and two years later embarked upon their programme of building.¹⁶

Mansfield

A third example is provided by the town of Mansfield, which did not achieve incorporation until 1891. In the early part of the nineteenth century the town was governed by the churchwardens and overseers and a surveyor, appointed and supervised by the Vestry. A constable and a pinder were appointed by the Court Leet. The Duke of Portland was the lord of the manor. Under this form of government there were no properly made roads and no effectual sewers. Numerous meetings were held and eventually in 1822 a petition was drawn up "to obtain an Act for lighting, cleansing and improving the town of Mansfield."¹⁷ The Act was secured in the following year and forty-three Commissioners were appointed to carry it into execution. The Commission was of the usual pattern and as vacancies occurred they were filled up by the survivors. Up to the year 1874 its meetings were conducted with closed doors.¹⁸ The Commission did much useful work, but like so many of these bodies it lacked the necessary powers and resources to provide all the amenities required by the town. In 1839 we find the lord of the manor writing to the Duke of Newcastle making some suggestions for the proper and permanent policing of the town and asking him for a financial contribution. Newcastle, while approving of the scheme, replied

that Portland's letter had been "vastly unpleasant to him," that nothing could be "more unreasonable or unnatural" than that he should be invited to give any money, and that, however rich he might be, he would refuse.¹⁹

As time went on great dissatisfaction was expressed at the holding of the meetings of the Commission in private, and at the fact that the members were not popularly elected. In 1873 steps were taken to bring the town under the authority of the Sanitary Acts, and to repeal such parts of the Improvement Act as had become obsolete. This agitation ended in 1874 in the passing of another Act amending the Act of 1826 embodying the principal clauses of the Public Health Act and reducing the number of Commissioners to eighteen. The old form of self-election gave place under the new Act to a system of election by the ratepayers. It provided for the election of six members annually in November, each member being elected for three years. One of the first acts of the reformed Commission, in 1875, was to purchase certain tolls from the Duke of Portland.²⁰

Meanwhile the demand for incorporation was growing. Incorporation had been suggested as early as 1820, but the Improvement Commission had won the day. In 1883 a deputation of ratepayers waited upon the Chairman of the Commission and asked him to bring before the Commissioners the matter of incorporation. When the resolution was submitted to a meeting of the Commissioners, sixteen out of eighteen being present, only six voted for incorporation, seven against, and three were neutral.

The hand of the Commission was eventually forced by the desire to appoint resident magistrates. In 1884 a resolution in favour of seeking incorporation was carried by ten votes to three, a public meeting was held, and a petition was signed by some 1,300 ratepayers and householders. A minority of householders, but possessing a majority of taxation, signed a counter-petition. They alleged that the petitioners had failed to show that incorporation would increase the trade of the town or add anything tangible to the advantage of the inhabitants, and expressed the opinion that there would be a tendency to increase the rates by the appointing of extra officials and increased salaries.

The Commissioners decided that "in deference to the views expressed by so many of their fellow-townsmen, it is inopportune to proceed with the application for a Charter."²¹ The subject was then dropped for a number of years. A further attempt was made in 1890 and this time there was no opposition. The Nottinghamshire County Council unanimously supported the application and the Duke of Portland—who, as lord of the manor, had previously maintained a neutral attitude—attended the Council meeting and joined in the vote. A Local Government Enquiry was held in November, 1890, and the charter was granted in the following year. The Improvement Commissioners invited the Duke of Portland to become the first mayor of Mansfield. This honour he declined because of his many activities and frequent absences from the county, but he asked to be allowed, "as lord of the manor, to present a chain of office for the use of the borough."²²

Warwick

The Webbs have portrayed the Improvement Commissions as the forerunners of the modern system of local government, which indeed they

were, but it is perhaps not generally realised that some of them served as instruments of paternalism or "domination" long after they had outlived their usefulness as agencies of local government. On the other hand it should not be assumed that towns with Improvement Commissioners were particularly liable to paternalism nor that paternalism was always opposed to progress.

Paternalism took various forms. In many of the boroughs which had once been pocket boroughs the family influence continued in local affairs. In Warwick, for example, the municipal government was vested in a mayor, a recorder, twelve aldermen and twelve principal burgesses, with a town clerk. The first recorder, appointed by the charter of 1697, was Fulke Lord Brooke, whose descendant, the Earl of Warwick, held the office in the nineteenth century.²³ According to the charter, his office was for life and was to be exercised "either personally, or by a Deputy; and another person learned in the laws of England, called the Common Clerk, who is to be chosen by the Recorder, and is removable by him at his pleasure."²⁴ In such cases there was often a close connection between paternalism in local government and electoral patronage. Professor Gash writes: "The majority of aldermen and burgesses of Warwick were attached to the 'orange' or Warwick interest, and many were personally connected with the earl as solicitors, bankers and tradesmen. The treasurer of the corporation, for example, was employed by the Earl of Warwick as his solicitor. The town clerk acted not merely as solicitor but as election agent for the 'orange' side. After the election of 1831, a large number of persons, chiefly dependent on the earl, were fictitiously rated to the poor of the parishes of Warwick and thus given a qualification for the franchise."²⁵ Similarly, Professor Gash tells us that Huddersfield in the 1830s, without coming quite into the category of proprietary boroughs, was sufficiently under the control of the whig, Sir John Ramsden, to defy the efforts of radicals and tories to capture the seat.²⁶

Other Forms of Paternalism

There are also odd instances of towns which came under the influence of industrialists or even joint-stock companies. At Crewe the London and North-Western Railway Company played a part in local politics which has led to the assertion that the company introduced a "feudal system . . . with modifications."²⁷ The agitation for incorporation began in Crewe in the 1870s. A deputation which waited on the representatives of the L.N.W.R. Company in 1876 in order to ascertain the directors' views on the subject was informed: "That the Company were not in favour of incorporation, believing it to be premature; but that they wouldn't oppose it if a majority of the people wished it, and that they didn't desire the station to be included in the borough boundary."²⁸ It was stated before the Commission of Enquiry that the rateable value of Monks Coppenhall was £55,934, of which £20,132 stood in the name of the L.N.W.R. Company. Nevertheless, the town was granted its charter in 1877. After the first borough election, F. W. Webb, Chief Mechanical Engineer to the railway company, commented in a letter: "I am only sorry that on Saturday last (30th June) they (i.e., the men of Crewe works) so far forgot their obligations that they did not exert themselves to return some of the company's officers to watch over their own and the

company's interests in this railway town of ours."²⁹

Paternalism, where it was exercised benevolently, frequently brought improvements to the town. The Improvement Commissioners of Mansfield did much useful work in developing the amenities of the town. In Warwick, as early as 1815, we are told: "The inhabitants have lately displayed their spirit and liberality, as well as their taste, in many great and important improvements; of which the last, though not the least, is the culverting, flagging and paving of all the principal streets. This is now substantially and handsomely done, at the expense of upwards of £5,000, the whole of which was defrayed by voluntary subscription. During the winter months, the town is also lighted, the expense of which is defrayed out of the funds of the corporation."³⁰ In the early days of the development of Crewe, the L.N.W.R. Company built model houses in wide regular streets. It provided schools and, in the words of Dr. Chaloner, "the care of the railway directors for the moral welfare and the economic efficiency of their workmen led to a ban on the building of public houses on the company's estate and a careful watch on the number of such establishments over the frontier."³¹

But the influence of local landowners on the affairs of towns, whether for good or ill, was something which could not be accepted indefinitely. The struggles for incorporation during the nineteenth century resulted from more than a mere desire for the additional dignity and prestige which are associated with a mayor, aldermen and councillors. It was suggested soon after 1894 that an urban district had very little to gain by becoming a borough.³² In the period between 1835 and 1894 the situation was very different. The demand for incorporation or local government reform was a demand not only for increased powers but also for self-government.

¹*Manchester Herald*, 15th December, 1818, quoted in A. Redford, *A History of Local Government in Manchester* (London), 1940, II, p. 6.

²Redford, *op. cit.*, II, p. 4.

³Quoted in Redford, *op. cit.*, II, p. 12.

⁴10 H.C. Deb. 4s. 681.

⁵S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government; Statutory Authorities*, London, 1922, p. 241.

⁶Anne, cap. 5.

⁷S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

⁸Minutes of the Trustees of the Town and Harbour of Whitehaven, 25th and 29th August, 1719, 6th August, 1722, 3rd December, 1722, etc.

⁹22 Vict., cap. xiv.

¹⁰34 & 35 Vict., cap. xli.

¹¹Select Committee on the Whitehaven Town and Harbour Trust Extension Bill, 1878; speech by Sir Edmund Beckett.

¹²*Ibid.*, Cf. N. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel* (London, 1953), p. xi, n.

¹³E. M. Kearsley, *The West Riding of Yorkshire* (London, no date), p. 131.

¹⁴S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

¹⁵Select Committee on the Whitehaven Town and Harbour Trust Extension Bill, 1878; speech by Sir Edmund Beckett.

¹⁶E. M. Kearsley, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹⁷Quoted in W. H. Groves, *The History of Mansfield* (Nottingham, 1894), p. 302.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 307.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

¹⁹Welbeck MSS. Quoted in A. S. Turberville, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and Its Owners* (London, 1939), II, pp. 387-8.

²⁰*Derbyshire Times*, 19th June, 1875.

²¹Groves, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 315.

²³W. Field, *A Historical and Descriptive Account of the Town and Castle of Warwick* (Warwick), 1815, p. 49.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Appendix II, p. 3.

²⁵Gash, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. xi, n.

²⁷Quoted in W. H. Chaloner, *The Social and Economic Development of Crewe 1870-1923* (Manchester, 1950), p. xviii.

²⁸Quoted in Chaloner, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

²⁹*Crewe Guardian*, 16th January, 1914, quoted in Chaloner, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

³⁰Field, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³¹Chaloner, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

³²J. Redlich and F. W. Hirst, *Local Government in England* (London), 1903, II, p. 127.

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The International Institute of Administrative Sciences Round Table at Oxford, 1955

THE 1955 Round Table Conference of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences was held at Oxford from 10th-15th July. This was the first time that the International Institute had come to the United Kingdom for one of its annual meetings, and the innovation was due to the Royal Institute of Public Administration, the British "national section" of the International Institute, which acted as host to the Conference and undertook the physical arrangements. The preparation of documents and the organisation of meetings was in the hands of the International Institute, and both Institutes sent teams from their headquarters staff to the Conference.

The choice of Oxford proved a particularly happy one: as Professor K. C. Wheare pointed out in welcoming the Conference on behalf of the university, Oxford believes in education by discussion, and that was the method selected for the Conference. Moreover, in Oxford it was possible to achieve a degree of communal life unknown at previous meetings of the International Institute. Most of the delegates were lodged at Magdalen, and all took their meals there. This allowed informal contacts to be made and pursued in a way which would have been impossible if delegates had dispersed to hotels after meetings. The novelty (and the bathrooms) came as something of a shock at first, but it soon proved worth while. The value of these informal contacts was reinforced by a well-balanced social programme, which included receptions by the Royal Institute and the City of Oxford, an evening river trip to Abingdon, an excursion to Stratford together with a performance at the Memorial Theatre, and finally a 14th July party in the cellars of the Oxford Union. This last event, coming nearly at the end of the Conference, proved most conducive to informality: high officials and university dons are quite indistinguishable from the rest of the world when on the dance floor.

The formal meetings were held at the Oxford Union, where conditions were very good. Two large groups could meet simultaneously, and the translators (using equipment supplied by courtesy of the European Productivity Agency) were well up to their task. The delegates came from far and wide: every continent and some forty countries were represented, to a total of about 120. Although only two languages, French and English, were used at the meetings, communication proved on the whole remarkably easy.

The opening session, after some words of welcome by the President of the International Institute, M. René Cassin, was addressed by Sir Henry Self, Deputy Chairman of the Central Electricity Authority, and his opposite number from the Electricité de France, M. Brémond (a choice of speakers directly linked with two subjects on the Conference agenda). Each speaker outlined the characteristics of his organisation, and revealed a number of common features and problems in the process. Señor Martínez Cabanas, of the United Nations, told the delegates of the interest which the U.N. takes in the study of public administration problems and the ways in which

it is tackling some of them itself. His presence was evidence that the International Institute had a contribution to make in this sphere. Thereafter, working sessions were devoted to the six subjects on the agenda. Two of these, "Common Factors in the Management of Public and Private Enterprise" and "Effect of Differences in Legal Climate on Management in Public and Private Enterprise," reflected the Institute's concern with the problems of administering public corporations; two were in the general sphere of training ("Evaluation of the Administrative Staff College Concept" and "Trends in University Education in Business Administration of Significance for University Education in Public Administration"), and the other two dwelt on technical administrative problems ("Administrative Control of Budget Execution" and "Public Purchasing").

Common Factors in the Management of Public and Private Enterprise

The discussion of this subject suffered in two ways. In the first place it was the opening subject of the Conference: delegates were still feeling their feet, and there was a greater tendency for them to propound their own views than to listen to other people's. Secondly, the subject proved a very extensive one. The outline prepared by M. Henry Puget, of France, as a basis for discussion covered in headline form three closely typed pages, and the debate did not get focused on any particular point. It was nevertheless enlivened by the suggestion from a number of sources—a suggestion which must have shocked any listener deeply wedded to niceties of formal organisation—that the selection of the form of internal organisation for a public corporation made little difference in practice. If a collegiate top structure was chosen, authority tended in practice to gravitate to one man's hands. If, alternatively, authority was firmly vested in one man, in the very nature of things he had to take into account the views of colleagues and other interested parties. In either event the result was a combination of leadership and consultation. Thus the Conference was rapidly brought up against the "human element" in administration.

There were many references to one salient feature which differentiates public enterprise from private undertakings: the degree of external control. This degree usually comes from two sources: from the Government through the supervising Minister and his representatives, and from Parliament. Though no one suggested that this public control was anything but a proper device to apply to an organisation accountable to the public powers, there was general agreement that it put a brake on capacity for efficiency.

The rapporteur for this subject, Mr. Bapat of India, dazzled the final session of the Conference with a vision of a spectrum of the different forms of organisation: at the one end a small private business, at the other a Government Department, with somewhere in the middle, the public corporation and the big business corporation—distinct, but having a good deal in common, including a lot of management problems.

Trends in University Education in Business Administration of Significance for University Education in Public Administration

This subject caught the imagination of delegates, and received, so to speak, two encores: originally scheduled for one half day only, it was carried

on first to the next morning and then to the following afternoon. Considering the variety of contributions, reflecting a wealth of experience and traditions, the area of common ground was remarkable. It was not only the surroundings of Oxford and the vigorous exposition of the Oxford tradition by the Warden of Nuffield which produced the general conclusion that specialised training, whether for the public service or for private enterprise, should be postponed as late as possible and should ideally be based on a liberal culture or some practical experience in the one field or the other. Again there was no complacency about the results achieved in teaching business administration or public administration: "Inadequate teaching of inadequate ideas" was Professor T. E. Chester's description. Mr. Hanson declared that all the principles of public administration which he had met were "obvious, unintelligible or untrue." Other speakers, without being so caustic, were agreed that the universities were in no position yet awhile to claim that they can turn out complete administrators. All that they could do was to impart a certain amount of knowledge which the administrator could profitably use. It was suggested that there was promise of development on the right lines in the sphere of the social sciences which might offer at one and the same time a respectable intellectual discipline and useful background knowledge for the administrator.

When it came to discussing the possibility, and indeed the desirability, of some common training for public officials and business administrators, there was less agreement. The American attitude, powerfully urged both orally and in a discussion paper by Dean Herzog, of the Harvard University School of Public Administration, was that such training was not only possible but desirable. Many speakers were prepared to accept this attitude as right in a country like the U.S.A., where there is constant interchange of personnel between the public service and private enterprise. The exactly opposite view was expressed by Signor Sica, of the Italian Corte dei Conti. In a series of volcanic speeches, in which there were echoes of Hegel and references to Croce, he urged that the State and its servants would lose their essential position of moral superiority if they had any truck with the business world and its activities; but even among those (like M. Grégoire, of the European Productivity Agency) who regarded this as an exaggerated attitude in the world of 1955, where the State and the business community have a number of aims in common and a number of identical management problems, there was a suggestion that the public official must at some stage be imbued with the sense of duty to the State and thereby to the public weal, which is not essential to his colleague in private enterprise. This view, first expressed by M. Puget, found support among some of his compatriots and speakers from other continental countries where the tradition of strict legal training for the higher positions in the Civil Service still holds.

Around these main areas of discussion there were some interesting smaller ones. Turkey proved to be but one of the countries where the question could be only of academic interest for those present, since there are no "business administrators" in the sense in which the term is used in America or Europe. By Mr. Dei-Anang, of the Gold Coast, we were told that in his country the antipathy between officials and business men is far too great for any common training to be considered.

The rapporteur on the subject, Mr. Whitaker, who had acted as discussion leader at all the sessions, took as the last word on the discussion M. Bourdeau de Fontenay's conclusion that since both sorts of training should share a common sense of humanity it was desirable that they should have a common language.

Evaluation of the Administrative Staff College Concept

The discussion of this subject was less successful than that on university training. It was not for want of a good start: one discussion paper had been prepared by Mr. Noel Hall, the Principal of the Administrative Staff College at Henley, and another by M. Bourdeau de Fontenay comparing the aims and methods of the College with its French counterpart, the Centre de Hautes Etudes Administratives. The difficulty may have been that there was too little first-hand experience in other countries of the workings of such institutions. Certainly one of the more impressive contributions was that of the delegate from Pakistan (Mr. Riza), who had but recently undergone the Henley treatment: in view of what was said in a discussion on university training about the distinctions and indeed the antipathy between the official and the business worlds, it is well to record his emphasis on the growing community of views of their representatives when they meet at Henley.

The subject is due to be taken up next year by the International Institute. It is to be hoped that with better knowledge delegates will get to better grips with it.

Administrative Control of Budget Execution

This rather technical subject produced a compact and interesting discussion. It had the benefit of a useful working paper prepared by M. André Molitor, of Belgium. This indicated that the subject was confined to control within the Executive of the execution of the budget (i.e., the spending of the money), and did not deal with the question of any outside controls such as those imposed by Parliament.

The first question which the working paper set was whether there was any need to institute a control aimed at anything but ensuring that the moneys provided were not overspent and were spent solely on the activities for which they had been provided. The paper assumed that something more than such a "contrôle de la régularité," to use the convenient French phrase, was generally found necessary. In the discussion, this assumption was not on the whole challenged, but it was suggested that certain areas of expenditure (e.g., salaries of staff) need not in practice be subject to any other form of control.

What remains to be controlled other than the "régularité" of expenditure is a wide area expressed in another convenient French term: "opportunité." This includes not only the notion of spending the money wisely, getting "good value for money" in fact, but also the timing of the expenditure. This question of timing is in some countries linked with the question of the availability of public funds, and it is no surprise, therefore, that it requires a decision by Ministers. While this, however, seems to be an exceptional circumstance, it remains true as a generalisation that some degree of control of "opportunité" is exercised.

So far, then, the discussion revealed a good deal of common ground. It was when the discussion centred on the means of exercising control that wide divergencies of practice were revealed. There was on the one hand the system, doubtless of French origin, adopted in a number of Continental and Asiatic countries under which the Ministry of Finance has staff outposted in the spending departments whose authority is required before money is committed, and who may on occasions refer to their own Minister problems of "opportunité." This system contrasts sharply with the one in use in the United Kingdom—what systems do not contrast with those of the United Kingdom?—under which the prime responsibility for the proper management of money is placed squarely on the Minister of the spending department, his Accounting Officer and the specialist staff of the Principal Finance Officer. The existence of a flexible system of Treasury controls does not remove the major responsibility, though it may in practice put more brakes on the spending department than the department would apply itself.*

(One wonders in passing whether the contrast is not sharper in form than in practice: Principal Finance Officers of United Kingdom departments on occasions look very much like outposted Treasury men to the rest of the department; on the other hand the Conference was told that an outposted Ministry of Finance man cannot do his job successfully unless he makes himself known and accepted in the department to which he is attached, and becomes so to speak its financial adviser.)

Two other lines of thought expressed in the discussions are worthy of note. Mr. Donald Stone, of the U.S.A., urged strongly that the ideal arrangement was one under which finance and policy are integrated from the start in a programme or series of programmes. It would follow from this that responsibility for financial control should rest with those carrying out the programmes. One might observe that this ideal implies a breathtaking faith in human nature. The other line of thought, which was pursued by a number of speakers, was that consultation between the controlling agency and the spending departments is essential, and the earlier it takes place in relation to plans for spending money the better. There is then a good chance of achieving the understanding of respective points of view which will ensure the smooth operation of the subsequent controls. Among other devices to the same end, mention was made of the establishment of agreed criteria for measuring the worth-whileness of particular forms of expenditure (e.g., building projects) and the clear and precise presentation of budgets. As Dr. Weichmann, of Hamburg, said: "Good accounting cannot compensate for bad budgeting."

Other Subjects

The writer did not attend the discussions on "Public Purchasing" and "Effect of Differences in Legal Climate on Management in Public and

*It is interesting to note that in 1919 the Select Committee on National Expenditure recommended that the Accounting Officer of each department should be a Treasury official responsible to the Treasury. The proposal was rejected in favour of arrangements from which the modern system was developed. Whatever the merits of the Select Committee's proposal, it avoided the criticism sometimes directed at the present arrangements that the Treasury is remote from the activities of departments over which it has to exercise a considerable influence.

Private Enterprise," and these brief remarks are based on the rapporteurs' reports at the final session.

The main aim of the first discussion was to consider and revise a draft questionnaire drawn up by the Netherlands section of the Institute. The questionnaire reflects the fact that in many countries the procedure for awarding tenders for goods or services required by public authorities is governed by detailed legislation. The questionnaire aims at establishing not only the details of the procedure in different countries, but also whether the legislation is within the general framework of civil law or that of administrative law. The answers to the questionnaire will be discussed by the Institute in 1956.

The report of the rapporteur for the second subject suggested that whether they are viewed from the angle of the lawyer or that of the administrator, public corporations, set in a no-man's-land between government departments and private enterprise, draw their characteristics in what seems sometimes to be an arbitrary fashion from one side or the other. As in practice, so in legislation there is a certain contradiction, yet to be satisfactorily resolved, between the freedom that makes for efficiency and the controls required by public accountability.

The Value of the Conference

Now that international conferences on a great variety of subjects are so frequent, their value is often challenged and defended. It is no bad thing that this Conference of the International Institute should be subjected to the same salutary process. International exchanges of information on public administration are no doubt particularly difficult: even this brief account will have indicated how much a country's system of public administration is moulded by its historical, social and economic circumstances, and how difficult it is, therefore, to translate one country's experience into another's. The older the country, the more ingrained its administrative habits are likely to be. But a large number of countries represented at the Conference are young and their administrative systems, so far from being stable, are in a state of rapid growth. They can learn a lot from the practice of older countries and the earnest attention of their delegates at the meetings was evidence enough of their wish to do so. This is not to say that one can expect their administrative systems to be brought to an advanced state overnight, but it is clearly in keeping with the best spirit of international co-operation that they should have the sort of opportunity to learn from the experience of older countries which the Conference of the International Institute offered.

Not that there is any justification for the older countries to feel complacent and rest on their laurels: there is room for improvement in any administrative system, and in the search for better methods no one country (not even this one) should deprive itself of the opportunity of learning from others.

Against this background one feature of the Oxford Conference stands out: as was only to be expected, since it was held on British soil, British participation was greater than at any previous Conference of the International Institute, and it is in no jingoistic spirit that one can say that this was one of the factors making for the success of the Conference. The two Chesters, D. N. of Oxford and T. E. of Manchester, made notable and often quoted

contributions to the discussion on university education for administration; Leeds University, through Messrs. Hanson and Whitaker, brought some forthright thoughts to the same meeting. The Civil Service and the British Institute of Management were represented and had their say. If British empiricism in public administration puzzles (and sometimes exasperates) our foreign friends, they are impressed by our practical achievements and eager to learn more. Indeed, now that naval power has crossed the Atlantic and that sport is an international commodity, public administration is one of the few subjects on which this country can talk with the certainty of being listened to. It is to be hoped, therefore, that at future meetings of the International Institute (which will doubtless be held on the Continent for some years to come) there will be more British representatives than the two or three who have attended in the past. It would doubtless be easy to demonstrate that British participants "get nothing out of" the Conference, but this is to take a narrow view: they have a good deal to contribute and the prestige earned by a few well prepared and well spoken interventions in discussions is not negligible, to say nothing of the opportunities of putting over British points of view in smaller, informal groups. In our absence our share of kudos is likely to go, by default, to others—notably the Americans, who, quite fairly, are not slow to see that their experience is frequently and forcefully advertised.

Position of the International Institute

The Oxford Conference offers an opportunity to take stock of the position of the International Institute. Originally founded before the war as a forum for discussions by administrative lawyers from a number of Continental countries, after the war it extended its activities to cover the field of administrative practices. This development, behind which was a strong American impulse, has imposed a good deal of internal strain on the Institute: it was very hard for its traditional members, the administrative lawyers, nurtured in the idea that the jurist's approach to administrative problems was the proper one, to concede that the study of practical administrative problems was a sufficiently respectable subject to be placed on an equal footing within the Institute. That parity of esteem has nevertheless been achieved and has been accompanied by a rapid growth of the Institute's membership, contacts, publications, resources and staff. The mere fact that some forty countries were represented at the Oxford Conference is sufficient indication of this growth. The level of performance at the annual conferences has improved steadily, thanks to the better selection of subjects, more careful preparation of working papers, and the more purposeful attitude of delegates. There still remains a good deal to be done: at Oxford the standard of chairmanship ranged from the very good to the deplorable, too many papers were issued (some of them too late), and the "provisional programme" issued to delegates was considerably modified but never reissued in revised form. Nevertheless the standard is rising.

The International Institute might usefully consider whether these annual conferences, at which a few fairly general subjects are discussed by large groups, could not usefully be replaced or supplemented by a series of *ad hoc* meetings dealing with one concentrated subject and attended by

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

specialists in the subject under discussion. This would ensure an even better standard of debate, and the reports of such meetings would be more useful additions to the Institute's range of publications than the present reports of annual meetings.

M. René Cassin

No report of the Oxford Conference would be complete without a mention of the International Institute's President, M. René Cassin, the Vice-President of the French Conseil d'Etat. Wise, benevolent, eloquent, he set and maintained the tone of friendly earnestness which characterised the meeting. He has, moreover, played a leading part in keeping the Institute on an even keel during the recent period of rapid development, a task often calling for considerable diplomatic skill. The Institute is lucky to have him.

INSTITUTE NEWS

About Members

DAME EVELYN SHARP, a Vice-President of the Institute, on the 1st October, 1955, became the first woman to be head of a major department of state. The Institute's congratulations were sent to Dame Evelyn when her appointment as Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government was announced. She is well known not only in the Civil Service but also in local government for her official work has brought her in close touch with a great number of local authorities and their leading representatives and officials. Dame Evelyn takes a keen interest in the work of the Institute, and is a member of the Study Group engaged in a study of the *Changes in Executive Government Since 1914*.

Our good wishes go to another Institute Vice-President, Sir Howard Roberts, who shortly retires from his post of Clerk to the London County Council. Sir Howard has been a leading and most active member of the Institute over many years, and was Chairman of its war-time Emergency Committee. He did much to maintain the Institute's work during a very difficult phase of its affairs. Sir Howard is to join the South-Eastern Gas Board and will doubtless find other opportunities of rendering public service.

The new Clerk to the London County Council is to be Mr. William Ogden Hart, General Manager of the Hemel Hempstead Development Corporation, and prior to that a law don at Oxford. He is the son of the late Sir William Hart, who as Town Clerk of Sheffield played a prominent part in the regional and national work of the Institute. Mr. Hart spoke on "The Progress of the New Towns" at the inaugural meeting of the Oxford Regional Group of the Institute, referred to overleaf.

We wish him success in his new post.

Cambridge Conference

THE Institute held a twelve-day Conference on *The Development of Local Government in the Colonies* at Queens' College, Cambridge, in the late summer. It was attended by the Ministers and senior officials responsible for local government in most of the larger colonial territories, many of whom came to this country especially for the Conference. The Premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria, Mr. F. H. Page Jones from Tanganyika, and Mr. C. L. Clemetson from Jamaica, spoke at the final plenary session of the great value and interest of which delegates had found the Conference. Sir John Wrigley, Chairman of the Conference, paid a well-earned tribute to the hard work put in by the delegates, without which the Conference could not have succeeded. Members will be notified when the report is published.

The conference programme kept the members very busy, especially during the first week, when they were meeting in study groups which were charged with the preparation of reports. A little time was found for relaxation,

however, and in a cricket match, Africa (aided by the enterprising American observer to the Conference) trounced "The Rest of the World." At a Sunday evening concert, the junior members of the Roderick Ross family, assisted by Father, performed a delightful recorder trio. Roderick Ross, who is Treasurer of the Exeter Regional Group, acted as one of the Study Group rapporteurs, in company with his University colleagues W. S. Steer and K. Minogue, and with Jack Grove, Secretary of the Manchester Regional Group, and Elisabeth Firth and Enid Wistrich of the Institute's staff.

News from the Regional Groups

In addition to the ordinary programme of lectures and visits, the Northern Group have organised in Newcastle a series of informal lecture discussions on matters relating to staff and establishment work. The series, which is being led by the Chairman of the Group, Mr. J. V. Wood, consists of six weekly meetings on recruitment, promotion, rates of pay, conditions of service, organisation and methods, and education and training.

The Sussex Regional Group held a dinner in October, at which Sir Robert Fraser, Director-General of the Independent Television Authority and a member of the Institute's Executive Council, gave a talk on "Independent Television."

New Regional Groups are being formed in Cambridge and in Oxford. The Chairman of the Executive Council, Mr. R. W. Bell, opened the inaugural lecture series in Cambridge by a talk on "What is Expected of the Administrator?" An inaugural meeting was held in Oxford in November.

The Birmingham Group have issued a striking three-colour poster of unconventional design, which will certainly "stand out" from the other posters on office notice boards. The Northern Ireland Group are also seeking greater publicity through an arrangement with the editor of the *Staff Bulletin* of the Northern Ireland Civil Service to publish in each issue of the *Bulletin* information relating to the Group and to advertise particulars of meetings.

Corporate Membership

THE work of the Institute has recently been brought to the notice of Colonial Governments through an official dispatch from the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs. Keen interest has already been aroused in the services which can be rendered by the Institute to overseas territories, and the Governments of Malta, Somaliland and Basutoland have already become corporate members. The Colony of Singapore joined some time ago.

Forthcoming Publications

Two further books in the *New Whitehall Series* have now been completed. *The Colonial Office* by Sir Charles Jeffries will be published shortly and it will be followed in Spring, 1956, by *The Ministry of Works* by Sir Harold Emmerson. Another forthcoming publication is *The Selection Interview* by Dr. E. Anstey and Dr. E. Mercer.

BOOK REVIEWS

Government by Committee: An Essay on the British Constitution

By K. C. WHEARE. Clarendon Press (Oxford), 1955. Pp. 254. 25s.

A WELL-KNOWN professor of political science of a previous generation was wont to allude to the committee system as one of two notable English nineteenth-century contributions to public administration, the other being the development of the politically neutral civil service. No one knowing Professor Wheare will expect such generalisations from the present holder of the Gladstone Chair of government and public administration at Oxford. They will, however, expect a penetrating and useful analysis: the author will not disappoint them.

Professor Wheare proceeds from an examination of data, adroitly selected from a wide field, to limited but practical conclusions. He first considers the characters who sit round a committee table. They are: the chairman, the secretary, the official, the expert, the layman, the party man, and the interested party. Of course, one committee member may at the same time play more than one of these roles; he may, for example, be an expert and also an interested party. But this does not invalidate the method of appraising the contribution of committee members under these heads.

Having explained the seven characters, Professor Wheare then takes examples of six different types of committees, examines the particular blend of the seven types of character used for each committee, and considers the effectiveness of the results. Committees are divided into the following categories for this purpose, each being given a separate chapter: committees to advise, committees to inquire, committees to negotiate, committees to legislate, committees to administer, committees to scrutinise and control. All the examples are taken from the sphere of government, central and local. To qualify for inclusion, a body has to be one "to which some task has been referred or committed by some other person or body," and which is in

some degree answerable to the body or person who set it up.

Following about two hundred and fifty pages of acute analysis there is a postscript of ten pages, the opening words of which are: "It would be foolhardy to attempt to generalise at large about government by committee in Britain on the basis of the limited and superficial survey undertaken in the previous chapters."

Now this sentence is the clue to Professor Wheare's approach and indeed to his attitude to political science generally. He shrinks from sweeping generalisation and drastic inference, preferring to point his morals by assessment of the pros and cons and by tentative—even apologetic—appraisals of the value of the institutions under examination. One suspects that he has a soft spot for those institutions which have stood the test of time and is more ready to expound their characteristics and suggest modifications than to put forward radical alterations. After (mildly) deploping the use of committees to "placate public opinion or to give an impression that consultation is occurring or to keep the experts and interested parties employed and happy" he adds: "There is nothing necessarily wicked about this." In addition, a professor of political institutions can rarely have resisted so completely the temptation to make those resounding comparisons with other countries which are apt to sound deceptively convincing when delivered from the academic chair. Only when considering the standing committees of the House, does the author make a major point of the contrast which exists between English and French or American practice.

The publication of *Government by Committee*, which is in the author's words a "reconnaissance from the air," will, I hope, be followed by detailed studies of particular aspects of the committee system: indeed, the Institute has such a study on

committees in local government in course of preparation. One would also hope that students of political science in other countries would be inspired to write comparable studies, whether comprehensive or particular. The relative absence of practical books, except perhaps in the case of the States, makes the study of comparative administration difficult. Take, for instance, the question of the committee system in local government. To what extent are our local government committees unique in their method of operation? Many other countries make use of the committees in their local government; some (e.g., Denmark) use them partly as committees to administer. But exactly how do they work, and how do the different ideas about the executive which hold the field there affect them? Casual enquiries cannot possibly elicit the answers to such questions.

The book is salted throughout with Professor Wheare's characteristic wit. Thus, writing of the layman in committee, he points out that, though reasonable and moderate, he must have some of the questioning temper which is impatient of rigid procedure, and suspicious of reason and logic. He must, says Professor Wheare, "have all the virtues of the reasonable man and also all the virtues of the unreasonable woman." On the same subject, after referring to the name "lay-gent" coined by Jeremy Bentham for the committee member who is not a specialist or expert, Professor Wheare adds: "The word 'gent' is nowadays become facetious and in the plural peculiarly specialised."

So far as committees connected with the central government are concerned, Professor Wheare writes with some firsthand experience of a number of committees, from observations of those open to the public, and otherwise from discussion and study of the documents. His comments on committees in local government are, on the other hand, the result of many years' participation in the work of the Oxford City Council of which he has been a member since 1940, and of his close association with members and officers of local authorities. Consequently, his treatment of the subject is even more vivid, practical and authoritative. The chairman who is dumb, the chairman who is too talkative, the official who gets the chairman in his pocket and through him controls the committee, the official who smothers

or chokes the committee by telling them all he knows, the official who presents the committee with a *fait accompli* or who habitually brings things forward at the eleventh hour, thus being guilty of "contempt of committee," the member or officer who uses the committee as a screen, the committee which lives by appointing sub-committees, the committee which pursues its ways regardless of the interests of other committees, the incompetent official who cannot be removed—all these and many others Professor Wheare has upon his list. They are all quietly but effectively shown why "they never would be missed." The book should be compulsory annual reading for all who take part in committees to administer, including members of voluntary organisations.

In so comprehensive a survey, compression is inevitable and every reader will have specialist interests which he would fain see treated more fully; for instance, the overall steering committees for local authorities touched upon on page 197. The size, composition and duties of members of such committees present a pretty problem. And is there not a separate question of co-ordination of the day-to-day matters, in addition to the need for a committee to settle differences of opinion between committees and advise on high policy and distribution of duties between committees? Others might like to see more discussion of the British practice of bringing everything before a local authority *via* a committee. Committees in local government thus not only administer the services, they filter the council's business and initiate policy. Small wonder that they have been called the pivot of the local authority.

One incidental effect of administration by committees is the absence in local government of committees to "scrutinise and control" in the sense that Professor Wheare uses the term. The members are too much involved in administration themselves for a committee drawn from the council to have true independent status. This situation arises naturally from the absence of a separate executive, but it has its dangers and it gives added force to the need for a steering or policy committee as much removed as possible from the responsibility for the operation of services.

Some tiny points might be questioned, e.g., a selection committee to make

BOOK REVIEWS

recommendations about appointments to committees may not be so common as the author supposes (p. 165). Also education committees are required to admit the Press, not to meet in public (p. 193).

This book is arresting, likeable, distinctive in outlook and delightfully free from cocksure comment. Aerial survey it may be, but it is down to earth in its scrupulous avoidance of conclusions not based on the very practical analysis put forward in its pages, and in the strict observance of the author's self-set limits. Professor Wheare has not dealt with the Cabinet, nor could he discuss those committees—especially committees consisting of officials—whose deliberations are in private and must be cloaked by the Official Secrets Acts. The exclusion of the Cabinet means that the most influential committee of all is omitted. Indeed by definition the committees with which Professor Wheare deals are subordinate bodies: he is not concerned with those

gatherings where what Sir David Kelly calls the "ruling few" determine the fate of the nations. The committees discussed in the book are none the less supremely important; the influence of the 700 committees which advise government departments and the 50,000 local government committees alone must be tremendous. But their importance is perhaps in the aggregate rather than individually.

To me what comes out most clearly from this study is the value of committees as a moderating influence, as a reminder that no one has a monopoly of truth, as a reconciler of opposing points of view, as a guarantee that all points of view have been considered and as a safeguard against precipitate or arbitrary action; in short, their use as a safety valve rather than a driving force. But perhaps I have been led into one of those generalisations at large which Professor Wheare tells us "it would be foolhardy to attempt"!

A. H. MARSHALL.

The Social Foundations of Wage Policy

By BARBARA WOOTTON. George Allen and Unwin, 1955. Pp. 200. 15s.

THE framework of the argument of this important book runs roughly thus: Economists' theories of wages are unrealistic. In particular, they fail to explain differences in remuneration. These differences can, however, be explained in terms of social status. The great majority of incomes are now settled by collective bargaining, statutory wage fixation, or arbitration. Those who make decisions under these systems seek for moral criteria to justify their settlements and awards. In the absence of any guidance on the public interest from governments or the T.U.C., they fall back on the maintenance of the existing pattern of relative incomes. Since there is little to be said for this pattern and because of the dangers of wage-inflation, a government wage policy is clearly desirable. The main aim of such a policy should be increased equality.

By far the most original chapter is that entitled "Some Economic Curiosities of British Wage Structure." Mrs. Wootton's direct attack on economic theory is perhaps a little unkind, for few economists are proud of what they have to offer on wage

theory. In this chapter, however, she assembles data on a number of aspects of remuneration—the J-shaped curve of income distribution, the relation of rates of pay and hours of work, sex, age and geographical differentials—and neatly shows that the explanation of each "curiosity" is in the realm of the sociologist rather than in that of the economist.

Criticism of economists for neglecting social and political factors in wage determination is not new. In 1948, A. M. Ross, of the University of California, published a powerful attack entitled *Trade Union Wage Policy*, and Mrs. Wootton draws heavily on an excellent article by H. A. Turner in *The Manchester School* of September, 1952. This article explains different relationships between unskilled and skilled rates between industries in terms of differences in trade union structure. Part of the originality of Mrs. Wootton's contribution lies in the extension of her analysis to include salaries as well as wages. This is especially important now that many of the highest salaries in Britain are determined by

collective bargaining. It also gives Mrs. Wootton wider scope to poke fun at the economist who explains differences in income from employment as due to differences in net advantages or abilities.

In her fifth chapter, Mrs. Wootton offers important evidence concerning the dominant factors considered in the settlement of wages and salaries. That the cost of living and "relativities" take pride of place is not surprising, but confirmation is useful. One is surprised that profits come low in the list.

Although "what is anomalous to the economist may make perfectly good sense to the sociologist," Mrs. Wootton does not provide a sociological theory of income differences. Her argument shows "the 'contemporary wage and salary structure as the accumulated deposit laid down by a rich mixture of economic and social forces.' Indeed, 'with near-full employment, there is little inducement for anyone to enter the dirty, disagreeable, socially despised — and traditionally ill-paid — occupations. For the first time, under the pressure of true economic scarcity, the balance of 'net advantages' begins to be translated from fiction to fact." Mrs. Wootton teaches us only how complex are the forces determining differences in incomes from employment, but the lesson is magnificently taught.

To the student of government, however, the most interesting section of the book is that in which Mrs. Wootton discusses the operation of statutory wage fixing and arbitration authorities. She criticises others for arguing that their task is only to find a compromise which the parties can accept, to act as "an auxiliary to collective bargaining," primarily on the grounds that cases are argued in terms of ethical principles, such as the obligation of society to maintain living standards in the face of rising prices, or to maintain relative incomes. Because she thus asserts the independence of these authorities, she is able to advocate a government wages policy with "no legal or statutory basis" which would "constitute, in the first instance, a departure-point for arbitrators and statutory wage [*sic*] councils" and then "react upon voluntary wage negotiators." The use of ethical arguments before tribunals, however, does not prove their independence. Trade unions are concerned both with what their members can get and what they think they *ought* to get. What they can get is in part deter-

mined by how far tribunals will listen to ethical arguments concerning the cost of living and relativities. But most wages and salaries are determined by collective bargaining, so that in accepting these ethical arguments tribunals are, in fact, following collective bargaining. If the tribunals were to strike out on their own, unions would seek what they feel they *ought* to get elsewhere, and employers would probably grant it. The evidence for this is contained in earnings figures. (Mrs. Wootton's neglect of earnings figures is only partly excused by their paucity, which she mentions, and allows her to leave aside the possibility that earnings are far more responsive to economic forces than socially and politically determined rates.) Each year for many years earnings have risen faster than rates. The explanation is, in part, increased overtime; in part "under-the-counter" local increases, over and above increases in national rates. Such increases provide some of the drive behind claims for national increases in public services, in which local concessions are not easily come by—for instance, the railways. The system of arbitration is not powerful enough to withstand either the force of trade union moral convictions that relativities should, by and large, be maintained, or the economic drive of excess demand for labour.

Mrs. Wootton's egalitarian proposals hang somewhat loosely from the rest of the book. Earlier chapters contain no demonstration of the desirability of economic equality. This is perhaps unavoidable, for she clearly believes in equality as an end, and not as a means. It is, however, strange that in a book which argues that income distribution is determined by social factors, no consideration should be given to the social consequences of the author's proposals for altering income distribution. Ross's book argues forcibly that the maintenance of relativities arises out of the pressures to which union leaders are subject both from within their unions and outside, and that responsible negotiation has as its object the maintenance of law and order in industrial life by the successful adjustment of these pressures. Egalitarianism would disturb the process of adjustment. The effects of the disturbance must be known before we can judge not only the desirability, but even the possibility, of egalitarianism within a free society.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mrs. Wootton has laid herself open to a good deal of criticism, but the value of her work overshadows its faults. She has written some foolish things; she is guilty of omissions; but she has also made it

impossible for anyone who reads her carefully to continue to believe or spread many of the follies hitherto current on wages and salaries.

H. A. CLEGG.

British Trade Unionism: Five Studies by PEP New and Revised Edition)

Political and Economic Planning, 1955. Pp. xii+199. 16s.

AFTER a thorough-going revision, this book, originally published in 1948, remains a useful but elementary introduction to the subject. It contains outlines of trade union organisation and of the procedures and subjects of negotiations; a brief account of the work of the T.U.C. and relations with the government, the Labour Party and international organisations; and a survey of trade unionism at the place of work.

For the student, interest is naturally focused on the modifications made to suit events since 1948 and new studies which have appeared since then. In general, the overriding consideration in revision has been caution. The section on "Trade Unions in Post-War Britain" has been wisely omitted, and the material, where suitable, incorporated in other sections. One of the transferred topics—wages policy—shows, in particular, the advantage of second thoughts, and the growth of conservatism in industrial relations since 1948. The "three levels" of trade union membership (perhaps the

most widely quoted hypothesis of the first edition) has been retained, but modified. The "rank and file," who were originally contrasted with the national officials and the active membership, have now become the "inactive majority," and speculation on their position is avoided by referring to Dr. Goldstein's study of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Material from other studies is also incorporated, but the very existence of detailed studies of trade union government inevitably shows up the weaknesses of a survey which must rely on a few generalisations and desperately compressed accounts of the constitutions of several major unions. Similarly, the brief accounts of methods of negotiation in seven industries are of little value.

These troubles are, however, unavoidable in a work of this kind. In dealing with most of the topics included—for example, the Labour Party or Joint Consultation—the caution of the revision has added to the value of the book.

H. A. CLEGG.

Civil Defence

By T. H. O'BRIEN. H.M.S.O., 1955. Pp. xvii+729. 37s. 6d.

THIS volume in the *Official History of the Second World War* is a remarkable document. To have produced so eminently readable and clear an account of the manifold activities that came to be included in the general term "Civil Defence" is an achievement on which Mr. O'Brien is to be congratulated.

In so new a field where experience could contribute so little and speculation was the order of the day it is not surprising to find in this record constant evidence of the uncertainties and hesitations of those who had to plan for the unknown. What

is surprising indeed is the way in which the Civil Defence Services laid down from 1935 onward stood up to the test of events and in fact called for only minor adjustments even after the darkest days of the enemy's attack.

Mr. O'Brien describes with impartiality the continual contests which arose between the central government and the local authorities. Many were perhaps inevitable; but from them emerges in the result a picture of co-operation under almost intolerable conditions from which both sides may draw no small satisfaction.

To a large extent this book is concerned with the innumerable administrative questions which arose; but in this it reflects very truly the conditions of this new form of warfare, in which civil servants and town clerks, borough engineers and technical advisers, air raid wardens and W.V.S. workers combined to form a civilian army such as had never before been contemplated.

Of the heroism of this people's army there was never any question, but their morale and that of the ordinary citizens of London and elsewhere was dependent, to an extraordinary degree, on a mass of administrative work which, whatever the conditions, was carried on behind the scenes in ministries, regional headquarters and town halls.

To read this volume after ten years is to relive those anxious days and to rediscover many of the problems which loomed so large at the time and today seem remote and even unreal. Lighting, feeding and sanitation for the London shelters; water tanks and pipelines for the N.F.S.; uniforms for the Civil Defence Services; evacuation of children and old people; yellow, purple, red, green and white warnings; roof spotters on factory roofs—these are but a few of the matters that day by day crowded in on those responsible.

Between the central government and the local authorities something new to British ideas was interposed—the Regional Commissioners. Viewed at first with distrust and suspicion, the Commissioners quickly came to occupy a key position and their work is clearly and objectively appraised in Mr. O'Brien's narration.

The chapters devoted to the enemy's actual attack on London and the provinces form a comparatively small part of the book. There is no attempt to dramatise what were in fact days of great glory, adventure and suffering. But this severely

factual summary conveys, perhaps more clearly than many more colourful narratives, the extent of the ordeal to which the country was subjected. It was overcome by the steady resolution of the civil defence army which in the end, through the organisation of the Fire Guard, came to mean practically the entire population.

Perhaps the outstanding impression left by this account of Civil Defence is the responsiveness, even in time of war, of the government machine in this country to the influence of public opinion. To it some of the delays and hesitations that occurred can justly be debited. In a totalitarian state there would have been none of the solicitude for the views of local authorities which so often led to modification of the government's plans. But without it there would have been none of that local initiative that so often found a solution to local problems, or that spirit of self-help that time after time took in hand and dealt with situations that were rapidly becoming intolerable. That in the conditions of the last war it was a wise decision to base civil defence on the local authorities there can be no doubt; but, as the closing chapters show, the demand on the nation's manpower made it impracticable to keep all local forces up to the level required and the account of the gradual evolution of the Regional Column has a prophetic ring.

In an atomic war, in which there would be no less need for local forces than before, the mobile column must clearly play a greater, indeed an essential, role.

The volume will appeal to all who were concerned in the problems of civil defence in the last war and should indeed interest a much larger public. Though history does not repeat itself, it will be of great value too to all who are concerned in the planning of our future civil defence.

HAROLD SCOTT.

The Civil Service in Britain

By G. A. CAMPBELL. Penguin Books, 1955. Pp. 383. 3s. 6d.

PENGUIN books are intended for the general reader, not, of course, for the specialist, nor even, primarily, for the student. Within these terms of reference, Mr. Campbell—a public relations officer and former Civil Servant—has done an excellent job. Although he calls the book

The Civil Service in Britain, more than half of his chapters are concerned with the machinery of government. The first three chapters deal with the unreformed civil departments, the reform movements of the 19th century, and the gradual progress towards a more unified civil

BOOK REVIEWS

service. The fourth deals with recruitment since the First World War, and the fifth has something to say about the formal layout of a department and the size and cost of the present service. Chapter Six then launches us (rather oddly) into delegated legislation. Statutory Instruments are, of course, always fair game for a laugh, and it is pleasant to be reminded of the order under the Civil Aviation Act, 1949, which reads in part: "It shall be deemed to be night when. . . ." Mr. Campbell then introduces a fictitious department—the Ministry of Films—so that he may try to give the reader some picture of what goes on in a department, and why. It is really a low-level case-study in what happens to a file. This is a good idea which does not quite come off, largely because the author devotes insufficient space (only two widely separated chapters) to it, and these badly arranged, as it seems, in the general scheme of the book.

There follow four chapters on the organisation of the work of government in the major departments, in which a number of other topics are incidentally treated. Chapters Twelve and Thirteen deal with aspects of financial control by the Treasury and Parliament. The next chapter briefly touches on some of the "common service" departments. In Chapter Fifteen we are back in our imaginary Ministry, busy building a state cinema in the town of Rexall. This provides Mr. Campbell with an opportunity to discuss public enquiries, lobbying, Parliamentary Questions, and other matters. Finally, there are two chapters on "Conditions of Service," one on the Public Accounts Committee, one called "Ministerial Responsibility," which deals *inter alia* with the promotion of a bill, and a concluding chapter on ethical standards of civil servants.

This is a sprawling book, but it is always interestingly written. Mr. Campbell knows his stuff, and he puts it over so engagingly and competently that he holds the attention even where one is fairly familiar with many of the things he has to say. An enormous amount has been skilfully compressed into these pages: patronage in the 19th century, the Royal Commissions (including the present one), the house-party, Crichel Down, Coventry's default on civil defence, the number of appeals lodged in respect of family allowances, the life of a diplomat overseas, the district auditors, the official box in the

House of Commons, and the Select Committee on Nationalised Industries. Indeed, one wonders whether the author has not tried to get in too much for a book of this sort, and whether some of the mass of detail might not have been better omitted. There is nothing that has been going on in recent years that Mr. Campbell does not know about. He chats his way along quite disarmingly without much regard for logic, but with obvious enthusiasm for his subject. This formlessness mars the usefulness of the book for the student. The layout is very odd, e.g., "Recruitment" is Ch. 4, "Conditions of Service" is Chs. 16 and 17, "Financial Control" is Ch. 12, and "Public Accounts Committee" is Ch. 18. Moreover, the chapters do not always contain what they purport to contain, but neither, of course, does the book itself. Chapter 1 is called "The Influence of the Civil Service," but only the first two and a half pages appear to bear on this subject. The chapter on common services rather surprisingly includes a description of the work of the Select Committee on Estimates. It is worth looking at the way this comes about, for it provides a clue to what may be the method in Mr. Campbell's madness. The link is that the main function of the "common service" department is to provide services free of charge to other government organisations ("allied services"); and, as Mr. Campbell puts it, "one improvement (in the Estimates) from an accounting point of view would be to make all departments pay for the services which they received, so that the Ministry of Works . . . (etc.) . . . would cease to provide supplies free of charge." Thus, he is led into a discussion of the Select Committee, its history and functions (one of which is to criticise the form of the Estimates). This sort of trick (if it is a trick) is repeated throughout the book. The subjects are introduced because they follow easily (if seldom logically) from what he has just been saying. This is possibly confusing at times, but it is allowable in a popular account of this kind. More important, it enables the author to avoid giving the impression of sketchy or hasty treatment and the downright dullness so often associated with attempts to write a short book on this vast and highly complex subject. Faced with the problem of reducing his subject to reasonably simple proportions, Mr.

Campbell has come out of it, on the whole, rather well. But neatness of arrangement and the niceties of exposition are thrown to the winds.

At one point, indeed, he appears to lose his head altogether. The chapter "Secretaries of State" begins with the Home Office and Scotland, but then goes on to the Board of Trade, Fuel and Power, Labour, Transport and Civil Aviation, and Agriculture! The other Secretaries of State are dealt with in another chapter called "Overseas Departments." Incidentally, it is in the four main chapters on the departments that Mr. Campbell approaches the rock on which other short books on this subject have so often foundered: they can so easily become a mere catalogue of departmental functions. On the whole, he succeeds in avoiding this fate rather skilfully, though he comes perilously near it at times. His chapter on "Defence and the Social Services" (*sic*) provides a further example of his method. It begins (as one would expect) with some facts about the central organisation for defence: the Ministry of Defence, the Service

Departments, and the Ministry of Supply. But the last leads him into a discussion of recruitment to the Scientific Civil Service, and this in turn (after a "digression" on the professional and works group) to an outline of the present security programme. It would have been better perhaps had he abandoned altogether the attempt to give titles to his chapters and simply numbered them. This would have been less confusing for everybody.

The book is so full of information for the interested layman that it seems almost churlish to criticise. Penguin Books are to be congratulated on having at last taken the plunge into this subject. But for the university and extra-mural student, the young local government officer studying for his promotion examinations, and perhaps for the new entrant to the public service (who would certainly benefit from reading it), the book badly needs a good index. This is not usual in a Penguin, and the one provided can only be described as a reluctant concession to custom. There are a number of useful appendices, and a short bibliography.

J. W. GROVE.

The History of the New York City Legislature

By FREDERICK SHAW. Columbia University Press and Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1954. Pp. vi+300. £1 16s.

THIS volume is Number 581 in the series of studies in the social sciences edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. It is primarily a factual account, very well documented, of the history of the government of New York City from 1851 to 1950—a century during which municipal administration degenerated to its lowest level, and then rose to respectability and efficiency.

In the 1880s the government of New York lay in the hands of the Board of Aldermen, and the Board of Aldermen was in the hands of Tammany. During this period, according to the author, "primary contests and conventions were usually held in rum-shops, the centers of neighborhood political life. . . . All Tammany leaders in this period—Tweed, Kelly and Croker—were handy with their fists; Tweed and Croker had been gang leaders. A former police chief found every branch of city government infested with ruffians and thieves, and his professional eye spotted plug-uglies and thugs

among the aldermen. An investigation revealed that one legislator was a 'fence.' Another, an ex-convict, was elected before he had outgrown his prison haircut."

In search of a cure for this evil, the people of New York turned their eyes from time to time to the remedy of a revision of the constitutional structure of city government. A new charter was granted in 1873, based on a single chamber elected by "limited voting," a simple form of Proportional Representation, which was abandoned nine years later. Another charter, granted in 1897, introduced a bicameral system, but this only lasted until 1901, when a single chamber was re-established. In 1936 the constitution was changed again, by a charter which divorced administrative and legislative functions. A Board of Estimate was established as the city's chief administrative body, and a City Council as the policy-making house. The charter also introduced Proportional Representation for election of the City Council, but in 1947 a refer-

BOOK REVIEWS

endum resulted in a reversion to the majority method of election from the twenty-five Senatorial Districts.

Mr. Shaw is clearly an ardent champion of Proportional Representation. In his view its introduction was the turning point in the history of the government of New York. Even though at first it did not work very well, its adoption was apparently a triumph which brought with it a remarkable improvement in the effectiveness and reputation of the City Council. But it resulted in two Communists being elected, and so was damned as "New York's greatest gift to the Communists," and came to be regarded as un-American. In a referendum in 1947 it was rejected by 935,222 votes to 586,170. But the result of returning to majority voting has not been, as Mr. Shaw admits, any very noticeable decline in the standard of the City Council.

No one can doubt that there has been in the last twenty years a remarkable improvement in the city government of

New York. Indeed, Professor R. G. Tugwell, in his essay in Professor Robson's *Great Cities of the World* (reviewed in *PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*, Vol. XXXIII, Summer, 1955) describes it as being now almost certainly the best of any city in the world. But agreement is less certain on how far this is due to the adoption of Proportional Representation for eleven years.

The book as a whole is a careful and well-constructed account of the redemption of New York from the condition into which its government had fallen. To the English reader only one error is apparent, and that a very minor one: it was Charles II and not George II who "never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one." This history is based on much careful and meticulous research, but at the same time it is a readable book, enlivened by the colourful, if often unpleasant, figures who have played the leading parts in the history of the government of New York.

B. KEITH LUCAS.

Les Techniques du Travail Gouvernemental dans l'Etat Moderne

By ANDRÉ BERTRAND. International Institute of Administrative Sciences (Brussels) and Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1954. Pp. 89. 6s.

THIS, the twentieth in a series of studies commissioned on behalf of the United Nations, deals with certain aspects of the central machinery of government in France, the United Kingdom and the United States. It is in two parts: the first is about the methods used to arrive at a common policy and to keep departmental decisions in step and the second is about governmental handling of proposed legislation short of action in the legislative body itself. The book is admirably written and the names of the high officials in all three countries to whom the text was shown in draft assure its accuracy.

As might be expected, the most useful comparisons seem to be those made between the two European countries, which have in common the Cabinet system of government. And as the book is written in French it will be valuable for the way it interprets the British arrangements to the Continent. The description of these, as well as of the parallel arrangements in France, ought also to be read with profit in this country, since the principles and

practice of ministerial team-work are often misunderstood. This must be as good a short account of them as is to be found in any language.

In recent times the formation of policy has become more complex with the extension of the field of government action, and the chief problem has been how to combine the need for an increased number of Ministers with the efficient conduct of interdepartmental business. Neither in France nor in Britain has the general use of co-ordinating Ministers found favour, and the writer describes and praises the methods which allow the British Cabinet to be kept down to eighteen members while enabling about twice that number of Ministers to have a full share in the responsibility for government policy. Most important of these methods is the system of Cabinet Committees which, however, could not be imported into France because of the heterogeneous character of governments. Instead congestion of Cabinet business in Paris is often mitigated by the appointment of an *ad hoc* committee of

Ministers specially interested in a particular matter and in this way differences can be settled outside the Cabinet itself, often after only a single meeting. In both countries the work of Ministers is greatly assisted by a secretariat which knows its job and is at pains never to go a step beyond it. On the other hand in the United States, where the Cabinet is not a true one in the sense of a group of people with a collective responsibility, the methods by which the President assures inter-departmental co-ordination are less tidy. There is not the same tradition of systematically preparing Cabinet business, and the interdepartmental bodies which are the nearest thing to our Cabinet Committees have no secretariat and are a far less flexible instrument in that the legislature reserves the right to control their composition. The President relies a good deal on studies undertaken by officials in his own office, and in general the methods by which policy decisions are arrived at vary according to his personality.

Again as regards the drafting of legislation within the Government, American experience affords only a limited basis of comparison, the President having, in theory at least, no standing with Congress in the matter of drafting Bills; but neither do France and Britain have much in common here. A new feature in France is the role of the Conseil d'Etat, which in 1945 regained its Napoleonic function of scrutinising Government Bills before their introduction to the legislature, but this is not to say that the actual drafting of them is now done by specialists like our Parliamentary Counsel. In a sense every administrator in France is a lawyer and the author does not conceal his misgivings about the British set-up for drafting Government Bills or about the product: he finds our Acts of Parliament "excessively technical, sometimes undeniably obscure" and complains that the sections are occasionally arranged in a disconcerting order, are often far too long and suffer too much from setting out exceptions in front of the general rule. (Our answer presumably would be that so long as an Act is not ambiguous we do not mind if it is unreadable.) But he warmly approves the drill which is understood to have been adopted some years ago for planning and reviewing the Government's legislative programme.

What is the real value of comparative studies of this kind? M. Bertrand warns

his readers against supposing that a practice of one country can be adopted by another without regard to differences in such matters as how the party system works, length of life of governments, electoral laws, and the civic spirit of the people. Even within the machinery of government, it might be added, too narrow a field of study has its dangers. For example, the book does not deal with the control of expenditure, and yet in the United States the budgetary process is a most important method of securing the interdepartmental co-ordination of policy. Another matter outside the scope of the study is the Civil Service, but, for example, the question whether officials should indulge in political activities is very relevant to the degree of their association with Ministers in the task of forming and co-ordinating policy. M. Bertrand notes that in this country a good deal of important interdepartmental business is cleared by officials (through committees or otherwise) without the need for Ministers to meet in person and he rightly draws attention to the post of permanent secretary—there is nothing like it in most French departments—as assuring in great measure the effectiveness of the work done at both ministerial and official levels. Foreign observers find plenty to wonder at here. Americans are inclined to doubt whether a programme can be pursued vigorously if a non-political man is at the apex of administrative management, while the French ask how a political chief can be content to receive all his advice from or through a single permanent chief instead of relying on a "cabinet" of political advisers imported by himself. More light could perhaps be thrown on these things by a separate study of the role of the permanent secretary as both an executant and the confidential adviser of successive masters of different political hues but it would have to be broadly based on an appreciation of the conditions and the climate of higher civil service work as a whole—the long tradition of mutual respect and understanding between Ministers and officials, the importance of secrecy about what passes between them and about the reconciliation of inter-departmental differences, the policy and practice as to responsibility for errors, and so forth.

The author is surely right when he suggests in his concluding remarks that although differences in national institu-

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BOOK NOTES

tions, including parliamentary procedure (which ought, he thinks, itself to be the subject of a parallel international enquiry), must limit the scope for profiting by foreign experience, there is still room for transplantations on the technical plane. But readers in the less developed countries, for which the present series of studies is primarily intended, perhaps need to be advised that it is safer to make a thorough study of public administration as a whole in a few countries than to compare a narrow range of practices from many

countries. False comparisons must always be guarded against. Laurence Sterne, the eighteenth-century traveller on whose authority we have it that at least one matter (which, however, he forgot to specify) was ordered better in France, wisely concluded the account of his journeys "in pursuit of knowledge and improvements" with the warning that "the acquired stock must be used with caution and sobriety to turn to any profit."

T. D. KINGDOM.

BOOK NOTES

Local Government

By L. GOLDING. English Universities Press, 1955. Pp. vii+192. 6s.

THIS book in the *Teach Yourself* series aims to present in simple and concise form a broad survey of local government in this country. It also contains brief descriptions of the variants in Scotland and Northern Ireland and of the forms in certain British Colonies and foreign countries.

Lands Tribunal Rating Appeals 1953-54

Rating and Valuation Association, 1955. Pp. xxiii+174. 16s.

THE fourth volume of an annual report of the most important cases heard by the Lands Tribunal during the period, with summaries of decisions on earlier cases referred to the Court of Appeal.

Blundell's Rent Restriction Cases Annotated

By L. A. BLUNDELL and V. G. WELLINGS. Sweet and Maxwell, 1955. Pp. xci+334. 50s.

A THIRD edition of a volume of short annotated reports of all cases under the Rent Acts.

Whillan's Tax Tables and Tax Recorder 1955-56

By GEORGE WHILLANS. Butterworth, 1955. Pp. 11. 5s. (6 copies or over 4s. 6d. each, 25 copies or over 4s. each.)

A NEW issue of these useful reference tables.

The Form of Published Accounts of Local Authorities

Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1955. Pp. x+175. 42s.

THE I.M.T.A.'s recommendations on the form of local authorities' published final accounts are contained in this book. It is hoped that the adoption of a uniform presentation will facilitate consultation and comparison of the accounts produced by authorities for their various services.

Principles and Problems of American National Government

By JOHN M. SWARTHOUT and ERNEST R. BARTLEY. Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. xii+852. 55s.

THE second edition of a textbook published in the United States on the American system of national government. It takes account of the main political changes which have occurred since the advent of the Eisenhower Administration, and also includes new material on foreign policy and on the problem of liberty, loyalty and national security.

Social Services in Britain

H.M.S.O., 1955. Pp. iv+75. 2s. 6d.

Town and Country Planning in Britain

H.M.S.O., 1955. Pp. 28. 1s. 6d.

THESE are Numbers 3 and 9 respectively in the Central Office of Information's series of reference pamphlets. Each contains a concise account and a bibliography.

The Essentials of Economics

By DOUGLAS C. HAGUE and ALFRED W. STONIER. Longmans, 1955. Pp. x+173. 12s. 6d.

A SURVEY of the nature and main aspects of economic theory. It is intended both for students and for the general reader, and technical terms have accordingly been avoided as far as possible.

Floods

By WILLIAM G. HOYT and WALTER B. LANGBEIN. Princeton University Press, Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1955. Pp. x+469. 60s.

A COMPREHENSIVE account of the physical and administrative problems which floods create, particularly in the United States, and of the measures for dealing with them.

Financial Statistics

Monmouthshire Chief Financial Officers' Panel (Council Offices, Risca), 1955. Pp. 16. 2s.

A COMPILATION of financial statistics relating to local authorities in Monmouthshire.

Show Business and the Law

By E. R. HARDY IVAMY. Stevens, 1955. Pp. x+188. 25s.

THIS book seeks to provide a straightforward guide to the law concerning theatres and plays, cinemas and filmmaking, circuses and performing animals, television and sound broadcasting. Particular attention is devoted to questions of contract and censorship.

Communications Media

Michigan University Press, Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1955. Pp. v+234. 32s.

A SERIES of lectures, delivered at the University of Michigan Law School in June, 1954, on the legal and policy problems to which the press, the cinema, broadcasting and television give rise. Particular attention is devoted to the respective merits and defects of official controls and of self-regulation by the industry concerned.

Financial Aspects of Industrial Management

By G. D. BOND. Butterworth, 1955. Pp. ix+530. 40s.

SUCCESSING parts of this work deal with the principles of industrial organisation, management accounting and statutory accounting, basic financial policies, and financial structure. A large number of useful diagrams and forms are reproduced.

"Mens Rea" in Statutory Offences

By J. LL. J. EDWARDS. Macmillan, 1955. Pp. xiv+297. 21s.

THIS volume in the series of *English Studies in Criminal Science* considers to what extent legislation since the turn of the century has, by absolute prohibitions, undermined the principle that a man cannot be punished for a crime unless a guilty mind can be imputed to him.

Social Credit and the Federal Power in Canada

By J. R. MALLORY. Toronto University Press, Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1955. Pp. ix+204. 45s.

THIS report is the fourth in a series of studies sponsored by the Canadian Social Science Research Council on the background and development of Social Credit in Alberta. The author deals both with the impact of Social Credit on Canadian political institutions and with the broad evolution of Dominion-provincial relations in response of the changing needs of modern society.

Return of Rates 1955-56

Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1955. Pp. 145. 7s. 6d.

THIS is the tenth annual return of rates and rates levied per head of population in England and Wales. The figures show once more a small increase in the average poundage.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

THE following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. They are available for reference in the Library of the Institute.

Advisory Council on Scientific Policy (1954-55)

8th Annual Report. Cmd. 9537. pp. 12. 6d.

Agricultural Land Commission

Accounts, 1953-54. H.C. 85. pp. 15. 6d.

Bank of England

Report for the year ended 28th February, 1955. Cmd. 9541. pp. 14. 6d.

Board of Trade

Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Acts, 1948 and 1953. Annual report, 1954. H.C. 79. pp. 19. 1955. 9d.

Review of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade: statement of policy with revised text of the agreement and related documents. Cmd. 9413. pp. viii, 98. 1955. 3s. 6d.

British Broadcasting Corporation

Annual Report and accounts for the year 1954-55. Cmd. 9533. pp. 149. 4s. 6d.

British Transport Commission

7th Annual Report and accounts, 1954.

Vol. 1—Report, H.C. 20-1. pp. vi, 81. 15 illus. 3s. 6d.

Vol. 2 — Financial and statistical accounts. H.C. 20-2. 6s. 6d.

Central Health Services Council

Report for the year ended 31st December, 1954. H.C. 142. pp. viii, 26. 1955. 1s. 3d.

Report on the hospital pharmaceutical services. pp. 40. 1955. 2s. Reviews the arrangements for the provision of the services and advises on their most efficient and economical organisation.

Central Office of Information

Britain: an official handbook. pp. ix, 438. 32 illus., 14 diags., 5 maps. Bibliog. 30 pp. 1955. 10s. This revised and enlarged handbook is quite an admirable guide to the administrative, economic and social life of the people of the United Kingdom. It is not too technical in its presentation of facts. It is well illustrated and contains a very

full select bibliography. In regard to the latter, it is not intended to be comprehensive, but in future editions (and there should be many) there could well be several deletions and additions to the lists on government and administration with benefit to the readers.

Local government in Britain. pp. 30. Bibliog. 1955. 1s. 6d. Principal types of local authority; Franchise and electoral system; Internal organisations; Functions; Finance; Relations with central government.

Central Transport Consultative Committee for Great Britain

Annual Report for the year ended 31st December, 1954. H.C. 62. pp. 11. 6d.

Civil Service Commissioners

Report for the period to 1st April, 1955.

Colonial Development Corporation

Report and accounts for 1954. H.C. 113. pp. v, 50. 2s.

Colonial Office

Appointments in H.M. Oversea Service and other appointments in colonial territories. pp. 115. Bibliog. 1955. 3s.

A career in the Oversea Civil Service, by Kenneth Bradley. pp. 64. Illus. Bibliog. 1955. 2s. 6d. This little work, by the Director of the Imperial Institute, is a much revised edition of "The Colonial Service as a career," published in 1950.

Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1955: despatch dated 26th April, 1955, to colonial governments. Cmd. 9462. pp. 9. 6d.

Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. Return of schemes made . . . in the period from 1st April, 1954, to 31st March, 1955. H.C. 5. pp. 32. 1s. 3d.

The colonial territories, 1954-55. Cmd. 9489. pp. ix, 186. 6s. Constitution, political, economic developments, social services and international relations.

Digest of colonial statistics. No. 19, March-April, 1955. 5s.

Inter-university Council for Higher Education Overseas, 1946-54. Cmd. 9515. pp. iv, 41. 1955. 2s. 6d.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Journal of African Administration.

April, 1955. 2s. 6d. Article on "Oiling the wheels of local government in Eastern Nigeria," by J. D. Livingstone Booth, District Officer. pp. 55-64.

July, 1955. 3s. 6d. In addition to two articles on local government in the Gold Coast, has an important contribution by N. U. Akpan, entitled "Have traditional authorities a place in modern local government systems?"

Committee on Crown Lands

Report to the Prime Minister. Cmd. 9843. pp. 28. 1955. 1s.

Corona

April to August, 1955. Monthly. 1s. 6d. May issue contains an article on "The Public Service of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland."

Department of Health for Scotland

Hospital endowments: report of the Hospital Endowments Commission. Cmd. 9516. pp. 18. 1955. 1s.

Department of Scientific and Industrial Research

Radio research, 1954. pp. 47. 2 pl., 7 figs. 2s. 6d.

Report for the year 1953-54. Cmd. 9386. pp. 326. 1955. 9s. Contains 52-page bibliography of Departmental and Research Association Publications during the period.

East Africa High Commission

Annual Report on the E.A.H.C. 1954. Colonial No. 316. pp. 91. 12 illus. 3s. 6d.

East Africa Royal Commission, 1953-55

Report. Cmd. 9475. pp. xiv, 482. 4 maps in pocket. 1955. 17s. 6d. Basic problems: conditions for economic and social development; health and education; conditions for urban development; conditions for the development of the land; race relations.

Economic Trends, May to July, 1955.

2s. monthly.

Foreign Office

Council of Europe. Report on . . . the 6th ordinary session of the Consultative Assembly, Strasbourg, 1954. Cmd. 9476. pp. 67. 1955. 2s.

Forestry Commission

35th Annual Report of the Forestry Commissioners for the year ended

30th September, 1954. H.C. 18. pp. 88. 8 illus., 12 outline maps. 1955. 3s. 6d.

General Register Office

The Registrar General's Statistical review of England and Wales for the year 1955. Tables, part 11, civil. pp. viii, 174. 5s. Includes tables giving parliamentary and local government electors on the 1953 register and analysis of elections held thereon, also an appendix showing changes in boundaries of local government areas.

Home Office

Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1954. Cmd. 9471. pp. 93. 7 figs. 1955. 3s. 6d.

Iron and Steel Board

Annual Report for the period 13th July, 1953, to 31st December, 1954. H.C. 138. pp. 35. 1955. 1s. 3d.

Joint Committee on Private Bill Procedure

Report, with the proceedings of the Committee and minutes of evidence. H.L. 14; 58-1; H.C. 139-1. pp. xxxviii, 480. 1955. 17s. 6d.

Land Settlement Association Limited

Smallholdings organised on the basis of centralised services: report and accounts for the year 1953-54. pp. 27. 1955. 1s. 3d.

Lord Chancellor's Office

Report of the Committee on Legal Aid and Legal Advice in England and Wales. Cmd. 6641. pp. iv, 48. 1945 (reprinted 1955). 1s. 9d.

Medical Research Council

Report for the year 1953-54. Cmd. 9506. pp. v, 274. Bibliogs. 88 pp. 1955. 7s. 6d.

Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food

Future arrangements for the marketing of sugar. Cmd. 9519. pp. 4. 1955. 3d. Proposals include the establishment of a small sugar board to buy sugar and resell it in the country of origin at the current commercial price.

Inter-departmental Committee on Slaughterhouses (England and Wales): report. Cmd. 9542. pp. 68. 1955. 2s.

Ministry of Education

Education in 1954: the report of the Ministry, and the statistics of public education for England and Wales. Cmd. 9521. pp. viii, 197. 1955. 7s. 6d.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

- Memorandum on the Ministry of Education estimates 1955-56. Cmd. 9415. pp. 16. 6d.
- Working party on grants to training college students. pp. 27. 1955. 1s.
- Ministry of Fuel and Power**
- Industrial Coal Consumers' Council and Domestic Coal Producers' Council, Annual Reports for the year ended 30th June, 1955. H.C. 36. pp. 23. 9d.
- Statistical digest 1954. pp. 262. 1955. 25s.
- Statistics relate to Great Britain only, and cover coal production and distribution, gas, coke, petroleum (U.K.), and show persons employed, wages and salaries, capital expenditure, and value of output.
- Ministry of Health**
- Report of the working party on hospital costing. pp. 52. 1955. 2s.
- Submits suggestions for a uniform costing scheme and bases for the allocation of departmental expenditure.
- Ministry of Housing and Local Government**
- Local government superannuation (England and Wales): principal statutes and regulations as in force on 1st January, 1955. pp. 154. 8s. 6d.
- Full texts of the 1939 and 1953 Acts, and also the Act of 1937, as amended by the two later Acts.
- Rates and rateable values in England and Wales 1954-55. pp. 60. 3s.
- Residential qualifications. pp. 26. 1955. 1s. 6d.
- Ministry of Labour and National Service**
- Annual Report for 1954. Cmd. 9522. pp. vi, 162. 13 illus. 1955. 5s.
- International Labour Conference: proposed action of H.M. Government . . . on certain recommendations adopted at the 36th session 1953, and on certain conventions previously adopted by the Conference. Cmd. 9422. pp. 5. 4d.
- Report of a Court of Inquiry into a dispute between members of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association and members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Electrical Trades Union. Cmd. 9439. pp. 12. 1955. 6d.
- Services for the disabled: an account of the services provided for the disabled by Government Departments, Local Authorities and voluntary organisations in the U.K. pp. 88. 25 illus. 1955. 4s. 6d.
- Time rates of wages and hours of labour, 1st April, 1955. pp. x, 274. 1955. 7s. 6d.
- Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance**
- Report for the year 1954. Cmd. 9495. pp. 110. 5 charts, 58 tables. 1955. 4s.
- Tables include old and new rates of national insurance, industrial injuries benefits and weekly contributions, and approximate receipts and expenditure of the National Insurance Fund from 1948-1954.
- Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation**
- London traffic: 29th report of the London and Home Counties Traffic Advisory Committee, 1954. pp. 38. 8 illus. 1955. 2s.
- Public road passenger transport statistics, Great Britain, 1953. pp. 23. 1955. 1s. 3d.
- Report on the administration of the Road Fund for the year 1953-54. pp. 32. 1955. 4s.
- Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Commission**
- Collective discrimination. Cmd. 9504. pp. iv, 111. 1955. 3s. 6d.
- Report on exclusive dealing, collective boycotts, aggregated rebates and other discriminatory trade practices.
- New Towns Act, 1946**
- Reports of the East Kilbride and Glenrothes Development Corporations, year ended 31st March, 1955. H.C. 39. pp. 72. 6 illus., 2 maps. 3s.
- National Assistance Board**
- Report for the year ended 31st December, 1954. Cmd. 9530. pp. 54. 4 illus. 1955. 2s.
- It is rather disappointing to read that no fewer than 943 persons were convicted for fraud in connection with national assistance grants in 1954.
- National Health Service Acts**
- Accounts for 1943-54. The summarised accounts of regional hospital boards, boards of governors of teaching hospitals, hospital management committees, executive councils (including joint price committees), and the dental estimates board, for England and Wales, with the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon. H.C. 135. pp. ix, 41. 1955. 2s. . . . Similar report for Scotland. H.C. 136. pp. v, 26. 1955. 1s. 6d.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Oversea Education

April and July, 1955. 2s. quarterly.

Post Office

Post Office guide, July, 1955. pp. 520. 2s. 6d.

Report of the Mobile Radio Committee. pp. 23. 1955. 6d. Concerned mainly with the land mobile radio services and the allotment of the new frequencies.

Prime Minister

Government policy on charitable trusts in England and Wales. Cmd. 9538. pp. 15. 1955. 9d. Review of the report of the Committee on the law and practice relating to Charitable Trusts (Cmd. 8710).

Public Works Loan Board

80th Annual Report. pp. 15, and appendices. 1955. 1s.

Raw Cotton Commission

Annual Report and statement of accounts for the year ended 31st August, 1954. H.C. 13. pp. 44. 1955. 1s. 9d.

Road Haulage Disposal Board

Fourth report, for the six months ended 28th May, 1955. H.C. 12. 9d.

Royal Commission on the Taxation of Profits and Income: Final Report

Cmd. 9474. pp. xii, 487. 1955. 12s. 6d. The many recommendations in this report affect the whole community and should be studied by every income-tax payer.

Royal Mint

84th Annual Report of the Deputy Master and Comptroller for the year 1953. pp. 102. 6 pl. 1955. 4s.

Scottish Department of Health

Analysis of running costs of hospitals, year ended 31st March, 1954. pp. iii, 63. 1955. 9s. 6d.

Scottish Education Department

Public education in Scotland. pp. 58. 1955. 2s. Revised edition of the memorandum published in 1952.

Education in Scotland in 1954. Cmd. 9428. pp. 121. 4s.

Scottish Home Department

Report of H.M. Inspector of Fire Services for Scotland for 1954. Cmd. 9440. pp. 18. 9d.

Return of rates in Scotland, 1953-54 and 1954-55; rateable values, 1954-55; Population and area, 1954. pp. 16. 6d.

Scottish Office

Agriculture in Scotland: report of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for 1954. Cmd. 9411. pp. 93. 11 illus., 3 figs. 1955. 3s. 6d.

Industry and employment in Scotland 1954. Cmd. 9410. pp. 71. 1955. 2s. 6d. General economic progress; main industries; basic services; education, research and design.

Reports of the Department of Health for Scotland and the Scottish Health Services Council, 1954. Cmd. 9417. pp. 148. 4s. 6d.

Select Committee on Estimates, 1954-55

Report and proceedings, Sub-Committee D.—National Savings Committee. H.C. 130. pp. xiv, 56. 1955. 3s. 6d.

Treasury

Economic survey, 1955. Cmd. 9412. pp. 54. 1s. 6d.

Financial statement (1955-56). H.C. 114. pp. 28. 1s. 3d.

Preliminary estimates of national income and expenditure, 1948 to 1954. Cmd. 9423. pp. 13. 1955. 6d.

Staff relations in the Civil Service. pp. 38. 1955. 1s. 6d.

Training and Education Division. Manual for Civil Service typists. pp. 40. 1955. 1s. 6d. Although the purpose of this booklet is to standardise the basic principles of typing procedure in government departments, it will be found extremely useful to any office typist, especially the table showing style of address for titled persons, and the list of correction marks.

United Kingdom balance of payments 1946 to 1954 (No. 2). Cmd. 9430. pp. 52. 1955. 2s. 6d.

University Grants Committee

Returns from Universities and University Colleges in receipt of Treasury grant, Academic year 1953-54. Cmd. 9477. 1955. 2s. 6d.

War Office

Report of the Committee on the Organisation and Administration of Boys' Units in the Army. Cmd. 9433. pp. 16. 1955. 6d.

Welsh Land Settlement Society

Co-operative farms and smallholdings with centralised services in Wales: report and accounts for 1953-54. pp. 36. 1955. 2s.

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Advertisements for Staff. 1951. Pp. 15.

An analysis of published staff advertisements with illustrations of common extravagances and of ways of publishing the maximum information at the minimum cost. This study has enabled some of the larger public authorities to save hundreds of pounds a year.

Local Authorities' Minutes and Reports. 1952. Pp. 28.

This detailed examination of local authorities' minutes and reports shows how economies can be achieved by:

- (a) Reducing the length of published text;
- (b) Using the most economical methods of reproduction.

Information contained in the sections on printing with economy will be found useful on a wide range of printing work.

Local Authorities' Letters of Appointment. 1952. Pp. 24.

A study of the problems involved in preparing and reproducing letters of appointment which will provide satisfactory contracts of service to both employer and employee, and will include the information that a new employee requires on taking up his appointment.

Official Travelling : Cost of Transport. 1953. Pp. 20.

This report deals with the financial and economic aspects of all the available means of transport, and with the organisation and supervision of official travel. Appendices contain specimen costs, a specimen claim form, and a check list of practices leading to the economical operation of authority-owned cars.

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